WORLD REVIEW

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VERNON BARTLETT

THE JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON

H. ST. JOHN PHILBY
Friend of the Arabs, on Palestine

Italy—Weak or Strong?—The Far Eastern Explosion

WORLD REVIEW

Volume IV. No. 1. Incorporating 'REVIEW OF REVIEWS' and 'WORLD' *September, 1937*

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CONTENTS

CONTENTS—*continued.*

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WORLD REVIEW is the only English monthly review giving an extensive selection of articles from publications all over the world. These articles are chosen with great care, since WORLD REVIEW can only be valuable as its sponsors want it to be, if it avoids all political bias. The Editor in his own article, and other signed contributors, express their opinions as frankly as they please. Otherwise the Review would lack force and colour. But the ultimate object of WORLD REVIEW is to perform a useful and progressive service by allowing

THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

REASONS FOR OPTIMISM

by VERNON BARTLETT

A FEW days ago an Austrian journalist came to see me. Why, she wanted to know, had I sounded so optimistic in the last issue of this Review? I was, at first, a little startled, for that accusation seldom comes my way. Then I tried to set out my reasons, and here they are.

First, the presence of a new Prime Minister in Downing Street. Ever since I heard Herr Hitler's speech on January 30 when, for the first time, he had nothing to offer his listeners, I have believed that the absence of a definite British foreign policy was the greatest possible danger to peace. It was almost an invitation to the Führer to offer his people something at some other country's expense. But nothing was going to drive Lord Baldwin into making up his mind. No Prime Minister for years has uttered such stirring defences of British democracy and yet done so little to defend it.

One may distrust Mr. Neville Chamberlain's ideas—his friendly letter to Signor Mussolini especially may seem so much like a condonation of the Duce's behaviour in Abyssinia and Spain that it will not turn his footsteps back into the strait and narrow path. But the essential is that Great Britain should again have a policy, and Mr.

Chamberlain has already made it impossible for the rulers of Germany or Italy to reckon without Great Britain should either of them be tempted to try yet more dangerous foreign adventures than those they have already undertaken.

The British armaments programme has caused far more headaches in Rome and Berlin than is generally realised in London, for it has destroyed the conviction formerly held in those two capitals that the British Empire was really as decadent as their propaganda ministries asserted and that in no circumstances would it raise objections to its own dismemberment. The truth behind the Chamberlain letter, in fact, is that the Italians are frightened out of their lives and need all the reassurances they can get that the British are not suddenly going to attack them. The Foreign Office may conclude that this is a suitable moment to strike a bargain to put an end to Italy's anti-British propaganda in the Near and Middle East, but that, in a way, is the secondary reason for the Prime Minister's missive to Mussolini. The primary reason is that the British Government considers it rather dangerous when a man in so responsible a position as the Duce has the jitters.

Guns and Discontent

The second reason for optimism is that, while the British are growing stronger, the Germans and Italians are growing weaker. Paradoxically, the more they spend on armaments the weaker they grow, for every mark or lira diverted for the unproductive purpose of preparing for war increases public discontent, whereas the British Government is in the singular position of having almost unanimous support for its own programme of rearmament. So far, at any rate. And even from the military point of view neither Italy nor Germany is in an enviable position. Italy for the moment most alarms our Foreign Office, for she has been allowed to gain important advantages in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea during the last two years of dithering panic. But Signor Mussolini is far too intelligent to believe that, if he were to begin a war, he could gain more than a few preliminary victories before meeting with his own final defeat. With a quarter of a million men in Abyssinia and nearly a hundred thousand in Spain, his position is terribly vulnerable, and he knows it.

What if the economic situation in Germany should grow worse?

Is not Hitler more of a mystic than Mussolini, and might he not go to war and damn the consequences? Six months ago he might have done so. Today the Reichswehr would not allow him to do so. He is no longer above criticism. He has served his purpose in bringing the people back under the control of the military machine, but the machine is not going to move until its officers are ready. In particular, they condemn his folly in attacking at one and the same time the Jews, the Catholics and the Protestants.

A great German general let himself go the other day on the subject of the war against the churches. "But I did not know you were such a religious man," interjected a foreigner who was present. "I'm not," said the general. "I look at it from the technical point of view, and I know that no army which goes into battle without some hope of an after-life will fight well. Hitler's advisers are allowing him to ruin our raw material."

Nor is the criticism confined to the army. At no time since the National Socialists came into power have they been so openly and widely condemned for the extravagance of their ideas and their finances There is not, of course, the faintest shadow of a counter-revolution, but for the first time people are talking about the system in a way which expresses doubts whether it will last the thousand years which, as far as I remember, General Goering claimed for it during the Reichstag trial. Germany has not yet the material resources and has no longer the moral resources which would enable her to carry on a long war. And if Hitler does not know that, the industrialists and the officers do. Third reason for optimism.

What Fear Led To

But why all this talk about a possible war? Why this suggestion of hostility to Italy and Germany? Because British foreign policy is based entirely on the belief that those countries are likely to fight us, and it is, therefore, essential to rub in the fact that it is almost impossible for them to do so. That fear of Italy and Germany led to Sir Samuel Hoare's betrayal of the League and international law during the Abyssinian dispute. That fear led to Mr. Anthony Eden's share in betraying the legal government of Spain (a government represented at the League Council table) by instituting a system of non-intervention which has involved us in the most undignified wrangling and make-believe ever known at an international conference.

That fear has caused various futile and unworthy attempts to win over Germany against Italy or Italy against Germany. We are gradually coming to realise that we need not base our policy on panic, and therein lies the fourth and greatest reason for optimism.

There is, then, relatively little danger of war in the near future. Or so I maintained, and my Austrian agreed with me. But what, she wanted to know, about the more remote future? Had the British Government a policy about Austria? About Czechoslovakia? About Danzig? Was it going to keep the present regime going in Germany by lending it money? Was it going to continue sabotaging the League of Nations because Sir John Simon and Sir Samuel Hoare between them had so weakened it that Germany, Italy and Japan could afford to act as though it did not exist? Was there any far-reaching political programme behind the British rearmament programme? Was there any real hope that Whitehall, which had refused help towards a Danubian pact in the spring by allowing regional modifications of the most-favoured-nation clause, would make an economic agreement with the United States which would lead the way towards a general reduction of trade barriers? Were we going to do anything serious about the better distribution of raw materials?

To all those questions I could only give evasive answers. The dangers of war have certainly diminished, but the prospects of peace have not yet improved. And it's no longer good enough to declare that sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. It is that doctrine which has got mankind into such a mess.

But holidays are still on, and such problems can be left over for a week or two. On no point have the members of the Non-Intervention Committee reached such rapid agreement as on the question whether they should adjourn for a decent interval early in August, and it gave one a strange encouragement to realise that these men whose deeds or misdeeds cause us so many anxious hours because they may interfere with our holidays are just as anxious lest we should interfere with theirs. They talk pompously about "my government" but they are not above a little gentle ragging. When everybody was pouring compliments on the British plan preparatory to killing it, one minister begged that the windows should be opened as the scent of so many lilies was overpowering. When it became known that the unhappy idea of sending out a questionnaire on this plan had come to

Lord Plymouth in his bath another minister was heard to whisper the prayer that in future his lordship would go dirty. If they are not very careful these diplomats will get on as well together as do members of different parties in the House of Commons.

And since people engaged on such very urgent work can agree to take a holiday, we can leave over such complicated questions about the remote future until it is no longer quite so remote. We can do so with the comforting knowledge that, for the time being, at any rate, nobody dares make war.

THE DOWSER

Mr. Eden seeks the Source of Peace.

"Kladderadatsch" Berlin

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

All the world likes to read gossip about other people. Unlike film stars, neither statesmen nor diplomats hire publicity agents to tell the world their taste in toothpaste or their views on the modern girl. Hence the little human eccentricities that lurk behind the imposing figures officially presented to the world are seldom known. These personal notes aim at giving flesh and blood to the men whose names appear so often in our political articles

Arabia's Age of Gold

A DISTINGUISHED line of English explorers have won their spurs in Arabia and St. John Philby, who contributes to WORLD REVIEW this month, ranks among the greatest. He returned this summer to London after a journey from end to end of Arabia, part of which took him through unexplored country.

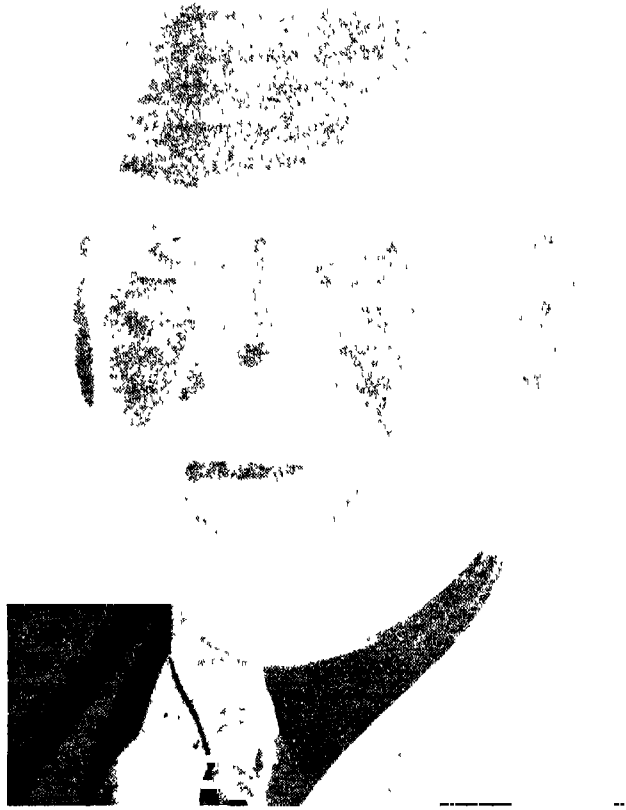
His connection with Arabia began during the War when, as an experienced Indian Civil Servant, he was attached to the Civil Commissioner's Staff at Baghdad. It was found necessary to send someone to Riad, capital of the central plateau known as Nejd, to persuade the reigning Emir, Ibn Sau'd, to attack a group of tribes under Turkish control. St. John Philby and Lord Belhaven were chosen for the mission.

They were not entirely successful. The wise Emir did not wish at that moment to involve his country in a war; instead he promised friendly neutrality in return for £5,000 in gold a month—only a quarter of what Hussein of the Hedjaz was getting for his more active support.

Sheikh Abdullah Philby

Philby came expecting to meet an Arab tribal leader and found a hero. Ibn Sau'd's character cast a spell over him from the first and they became close friends. At times there were awkward moments when Philby tried to interpret British policy in the Near East; it was hard to explain that there were three separate departments, the Foreign Office, the India Office and the Arab Bureau at Cairo who each had a finger in the pie and often pursued conflicting aims.

But the personal tie triumphed over political differences and later Philby resigned from the I.C.S. in order to remain with the Arabs.

Liked and respected throughout Arabia, he is the King's friend but occupies no official position. He is Resident Director of a small private company which holds a motor car monopoly. Recently he embraced Islam, and his desire is to die in Mecca. In Arabia he is known as Sheikh Abdullah Philby.

Mr H. St John Philby

Style in the Desert

As with Doughty and Lawrence, so with Philby the desert has proved a fine nurse of prose style. His travels in the interior have provided him with material for many books, notably "The Empty Quarter," chronicling his journey through the great trackless waste in southern Arabia known as the Rub'al Khali.

In person Philby shares to the full the grave courtesy of his Arab friends. People who have met him lately say that he appears in many ways to think like an Arab, with the same incurious reserve that hides a wealth of reflection.

Leader of the Puritans

It is rare these days for anyone to acquire an entirely new kingdom. Abdul Aziz Ibn Sau'd, hereditary Imam of the Wahhabis, the puritan

Muslim sect inhabiting Nejd, won his only after twenty-five years of intensive fighting. When, as a young man and a refugee in Kuwait, he made his first attempt to recapture his father's capital, he failed but success attended a bold venture the following year. His tenacity overcame all obstacles, including the British support for his enemy Hussein, and in the end his patrimony was increased fivefold.

At least a foot taller than the average Arab, Ibn Sau'd is broad in proportion. His handsome face, large nose and square mouth bespeak shrewdness tempered with joviality. His moustache and beard are neatly trimmed. A long illness has left him nearly blind in one eye, but otherwise there is nothing to show for his numerous wounds and hardships In demeanour he is always calm but on the alert.

The Arab Argus

Ibn Sau'd was brought up a strict Muslim and rules his country according to the teaching of the Koran. He never drinks or smokes and performs his devotions the regulation five times a day. Music is also forbidden by his sect, and although he once bought a gramophone, he broke it soon afterwards rather than outrage his conscience.

He has few diversions beyond the pleasures of the harem, picnics and hunting expeditions by motor-car after bustard and gazelle with his intimates, and after-dinner discussions, which are often prolonged into the early hours.

Open Hand and Mailed Fist

At his capital, Riad, some 600 miles inland from Mecca, Ibn Sau'd lives with a certain magnificence. He has enlarged his palace so that the audience chamber can hold 3,000. His bodyguard, clad in gold embroidered scarlet cloaks and armed with revolvers and swords, consist partly of Nejdis and partly of huge negro slaves. Every day a thousand people are fed free with rice and mutton from his kitchens.

But his rule is strict. Murderers are beheaded, adulterers stoned and thieves have their right hands cut off. These are drastic laws but they have succeeded in making the roads safe for the thousands of pilgrims who come to worship at Mecca every year.

A pilgrim once picked up a bag in the street and reported to the police that it contained lentils which did not belong to him.

" How did you know it contained lentils ? " asked the policeman. " You must have looked inside, hoping for something precious." That pilgrim, too, lost his hand.

Wives by Instalment

Ibn Sau'd has never understood the Western attitude towards marriage. " Why," he has often asked Philby, " do you treat adultery so lightly in Europe and set your face against polygamy ? " Although never exceeding the limit of four at a time set by the Koran, Ibn Sau'd has by dint of constant divorces had over a hundred wives. But they all remain proud of having once been honoured by him, and he was plunged in grief when his favourite, Jauhara, together with his eldest son, Turki, died of flu' at the end of the War.

Above all, Ibn Sau'd knows how to handle his fellow Arabs. A successful revolt is out of the question now that he has installed wireless stations and telephones and bought aeroplanes and armoured cars. He has also done much to stabilise the nomad Bedouins by founding colonies for them in oases. Once they have given up their tents for more permanent huts, these Bedouins, known as Ikwhan or the " Brethren," become his most enthusiastic and fanatical supporters.

A Sword Drawn for Islam

If in adversity Ibn Sau'd has always shown outstanding courage, his moderation in success is almost more to his credit. Time and again his followers have advised him to push a victory home when he knew that further action would only bring him into conflict with the vastly superior forces of the Turks or the British.

Unlike Hussein of the Hedjaz, whom he drove into exile, power has never given him a swelled head. His personal ambitions have always been subordinate to his desire for the purification of Islam and the Muslim Holy Land.

PARDONABLE

A large gentleman was one of a party of tourists visiting Palestine. At a hotel he was puzzled to find in his laundry account a charge made for " one tent." On inquiry he discovered that what the Arab laundry believed to be a tent was one of his shirts.—*Edinburgh Dispatch.*

DETENTE CORDIALE

At the time of going to press, the "Times" Berlin correspondent is under sentence of expulsion by the German Foreign Office and similar action is threatened against other journalists.

When the last of the alien pressmen
Is bounced by the Nazis irate,
And we see through the eyes of the yes-men
The totalitarian state,
Their skilled rearrangement of data
Should be without scruple believed,
And the purge of *persona non grata*
With worldwide rejoicing received.

When Rome hurls news-hounds in the alley,
When Tokyo kicks out the Press,
The spirits of Europe will rally
And the danger of warfare grow less.
Truth may be, when published, an error,
Some doings are best in the dark,
To describe a regime as a terror
May lead to unwelcome remark.

Events by non-fascists distorted
The prospects of good-will reduce,
Being apt to call forth when reported,
A torrent of filthy abuse ;
Despite journalistic discretion
Which palliates, smooths and restrains,
We get a peculiar impression
That something is wrong with the drains.

Since the closer acquaintance of nations
Has never amounted to much
The secret of cordial relations
Is simply to keep out of touch.
By stopping all mutual endeavour,
By severing national ties,
By keeping at arm's length for ever
The new day of friendship will rise.

REYNARD.

THE JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON
Parliament on Palestine

by H. ST. J. PHILBY

In this section we publish without necessarily sharing the views they express, articles by men of international fame. Mr. St. John Philby, explorer of its deserts and close friend of its King and people, is one of the greatest living authorities on Arabia. His analysis and criticism of other critics of the British plan for dividing Palestine between Jew and Arab, therefore, carries exceptional weight

A MONTH has passed since the publication of the Royal Commission's report. In every corner of the world it has aroused the deepest interest. Every element or interest affected by its proposals has had ample time to record its reactions. Partition has inevitably been the principal object of praise or blame or critical examination. No one—not even the Royal Commission—likes Partition. But no one has yet been able to challenge the Commission's considered conclusion that Partition is the only solution. Certainly no one has produced an alternative that can bear examination. Partition is, indeed, the only solution—but not the final one. The final solution can only be achieved by agreement between the Arabs and the Jews. And that is not likely until Partition is a realised fact. Partition is an essential stage in the evolution of the Palestine problem. Beyond that stage neither the Commission nor the British Government was competent to go.

Meanwhile, progress can be reported. The position at the moment is somewhat paradoxical. The Jews themselves, divided between

dislike of Partition and a desire for a room of their own, however small, appear to be ready to discuss the proposals on their merits. Their friends and supporters are fighting tooth and nail against the policy recommended by His Majesty's Government. Almost without exception, the non-Arab friends of the Arabs support the Commission's proposals and recognise in them a brilliant victory for the Arab cause. The Arabs themselves, almost to a man, reject the report with contempt and anger. The British Parliament has declined to endorse the scheme envisaged by the Government but has acquiesced in its submission to a higher authority The Mandates Commission of the League is (at the moment of writing) confronted by an unenviable task but will have no difficulty in shifting the responsibility for a decision on to the Council. By the middle of September somebody will have to decide something and, in view of the apparent unwillingness of anybody to decide anything, it may be assumed that the British Government, which has had the good sense and courage to arrive at and publish its decision on the Commission's proposals, will secure the necessary sanction to proceed on the course it has charted.

The Lords Did Not Shine

It will then have to face Parliament again with a definite scheme for giving effect to the Commission's proposals which it has already approved. It is pertinent, therefore, to consider the recent parliamentary debates with a view to answering in advance the arguments that will be repeated in due course. Of the debate in the House of Lords the less said the better At no time during the proceedings were there as many as fifty peers on the benches—the more soporific speeches reduced the attendance to thirty or less. Most of the speeches were soporific, inaudible, unconvincing. Lord Peel, himself, was obviously tired. However much he may have wished to do so, he could say nothing that was not already in print in a report which has already taken its place among the greatest state documents of all time. The Government champion was obviously speaking to a brief that he did not fully understand. The Archbishop discussed Jerusalem as if his knowledge of it derived entirely from the order of the Coronation Service which he had only recently conducted so beautifully. "Jerusalem is built as a city that is at unity in itself. O pray for the peace of Jerusalem ; they shall prosper that love

thee. Peace be within thy walls, and plenteousness within thy palaces."

Of all the peers only Lord Samuel, a newcomer from another sphere, vindicated the right of their Lordships' House to consider one of the most momentous problems of our time. He at least spoke with deep knowledge, with witty malice, to the point. He exposed the flaws that can be removed from the final scheme—His Majesty's Government should certainly take his criticism of detail to heart. But he could suggest no alternative to the Commission's recommendations but the one that the Commission had explicitly and impressively condemned. His conclusion was an anti-climax but his critical contribution to the debate was worthy of an elder statesman.

In the Commons, by contrast, the proceedings were worthy of the occasion. From beginning to end the debate was vigorous and exciting, and in the end the British Government had to be content with something less than a mandate to proceed with its scheme. It was invited to put its proposals into better shape for final discussion, and it was authorised to consult Geneva in its stride. The House of Commons reserved to itself the right to discuss the problem again. The official opposition laboured laboriously in a labyrinth of procedure and socialist ethics—hopelessly irrelevant to the issues under discussion—without greatly impressing the House. It was Mr. Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George, old experienced hands at the parliamentary game, that found the satisfying formula for delay and procrastination on an issue arising directly from the part they played in Palestine in years gone by.

The McMahon Promises

The honours of the debate were not theirs, however. Nor can they be awarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who certainly spoke with vigour but without conviction to a brief that was new to him, forced on him by circumstances. For more years than he, perhaps, cares to remember he has had a share of responsibility for the policy in Palestine now condemned by the Commission. It is to his credit that he now accepts and champions the Commission's verdict. It is a pity that he vitiates his acceptance of that verdict by persistence in an interpretation of the McMahon promises which the Commission implicitly challenges. " It was in the highest degree

unfortunate," says the report, "that, in the exigencies of war, the British Government was unable to make their intention clear to the Sharif." That is a very pregnant sentence, every word of which deserves more careful study than it is likely to receive. And the issue becomes still more intriguing when we realise that Mr. Ormsby Gore, when he spoke to the House, and the Royal Commission, when it penned that sentence, did not know the exact terms of the promise made by Sir Henry McMahon to Sharif Husain. If the British Government had intended to exclude, say, Jerusalem from the orbit of the Sharif's ambitions, it could have said so. We have by no means heard the end of this matter. Sir Arnold Wilson demands a full historical survey of the question. The Arabs have nothing to fear from such an investigation. In fact they have published all the documents in their possession. Let the British Government meet them with equal frankness.

The burden of many of the speeches in the House of Commons was that we have not carried out in full the promises to the Jews, contained in the Balfour Declaration which, we are now told, was actually drafted by Lord Milner. Why was this document kept secret from February to November, 1917? But even February, 1917, is admittedly later than October, 1915. And, if the promises to Arabs and Jews conflict, can there be any question that the later engagements are *ipso facto* annulled by the earlier commitment? If there is any honest doubt on the subject let the Permanent Court of International Justice be apprised of all the necessary documents and other evidence, and invited to express an advisory opinion. If the British Government is not prepared to accept this challenge, let it maintain a discreet silence. Its acceptance of the Royal Commission's recommendations is sufficient amends for its long and obstinate refusal to listen to the Arab plea.

Rebellion Pays

Several speakers in the House seemed to take exception to the making of concessions to the Arab rebellion of last year. Let them consider for a moment. For fifteen years or more the Arabs have been clamouring for justice. At intervals hope deferred has provoked them to violent excesses. Two British Commissions, appointed to consider their ebullitions, have made cautious suggestions for con-

trolling the rising tide of Zionist immigration. The British Government did nothing but hope for the best. Fate took a hand and the British Government opened wide the gates of Palestine to the German exiles. Despair precipitated the Arab rebellion of last year. There is no need to mince matters. Without that rebellion the Arabs would have got nothing. Jewish immigration would have been accelerated and intensified. By rebellion alone the Arabs have forced the British Government to reconsider the situation. And the Royal Commission, condemning the rebellion, condemning the British failure to crush it, pronounces substantially in favour of the Arab case. In Palestine,

John Bull. "There, children, now ride peacefully side by side into the rosy future."

"Die Brennessel," Berlin

as in Ireland, rebellion has been justified by the result. And so it will ever be as long as Might defies Right. That is a point which the House of Commons will do well to ponder.

The Mufti is a hero in Arabia, like Zaghlul in Egypt, like Gandhi in India, like Ataturk in Turkey, like Riza Khan in Persia, like De Valera in Ireland—all of the national heroes linked by the common bond of successful resistance to British policy. It is to the credit of Great Britain that in every case she has yielded to the irresistible logic of circumstances. Is Palestine to be the only exception to the rule? Is the Mufti to be treated as a criminal when other rebels can plead success as the reward of their intransigence? Sir Arnold Wilson has pleaded impressively for "some *via media* short of his arrest and removal." Sir Arnold Wilson, addressing the House, as he said, for the first time "upon any matter in connection with the Near or Middle East," has certainly chosen well his moment for intervention on the Arabian stage, of which his experience so far exceeds that of any man that spoke in either House with the possible exception of Lord Samuel The House must surely have been impressed by his masterly treatment of the subject. In retrospect and prospect he said very impressively practically all that is to be said on the problem. He "believes in partition because it is inevitable." No better justification of partition could be devised. Let the Arabs think that out. The Mufti is being unreasonable, reflecting the unreasonableness of all Arabia. His arrest or execution can serve no useful purpose. He and his fellows will see the light of reason when the clouds of present passion have passed away.

Raw Deal for the Jews

If Sir Arnold Wilson, supporting the Government's proposal, carried off the honours of the debate, there are two others whose contributions to it are deserving of high commendation. Mr. de Rothschild put the case against the Report and the Government's policy with all the cogency of transparent sincerity. It cannot be denied that the Jews are getting a raw deal. That is inevitable in the circumstances The Zionist ideal is a danger to world peace, and the peace of the world is more important than the satisfaction of Jewry. And surely the Jewish leaders must have been aware of the promises already made to the Arabs when they negotiated the terms of

the Balfour Declaration in 1917? They cannot plead that the ways of European diplomacy were strange to them. They should have insisted on the position being made clear then—to the Arabs. Yet they concurred in keeping their pact secret until the moment was propitious for revealing it—until the eve of the capture of Jerusalem, with the co-operation of the Arabs.

The Power of King Ibn Sau'd

Mr. de Rothschild drew rather a gloomy picture of the prospects of peace and security after Partition. In effect he asked how the little Jewish State was to defend its long frontiers. It is, indeed, strange that such a question could be asked in the House of Commons without provoking ridicule. But, if there is any difficulty on the part of Great Britain and the League in guaranteeing the Jewish frontiers, there is one Power that would and could do so. Is it not yet time to recognise the achievement of Ibn Sau'd in a vast territory that never knew peace till his day? Is it not time to realise that the peace of Arabia could be extended to the uttermost limits of the Arab world? On every side the British Government has hitherto sought to restrict the area of his jurisdiction. That area alone in the Arab world enjoys effective peace. The new policy in Palestine should be the handmaiden of a new policy in Arabia.

Space precludes a full examination of the other speech above referred to. Mr. Amery, when in office, was known far and wide as a doughty champion of the policy envisaged by the Balfour Declaration. With regret he accepts the Commission's conclusions. A firmer hand, he suggests, might have produced a different result. And he put his finger right on the weak spot: "We have lost the situation in Palestine . . . . through a lack of whole-hearted faith in ourselves and through our constitutional inability . . . . not to see the other fellow's point of view." After all, a love of justice is a characteristic weakness of Britons. During the past two decades neither our Government nor our officials have ever been wholeheartedly convinced that the course we were pursuing in Palestine was just. Only a few individuals have consistently challenged that course and have fallen out by the way. The rest of the nation has marched on uncomplainingly with the Government—to the defeat now seen to be have been inevitable from the beginning. We were not all wise before the event, we shall lose nothing by being wise after it.

WAR IN THE ETHER
Broadcasting and Propaganda

by A. A. GULLILAND

Mr. Gulliland has probably wider knowledge about the inside of the broadcasting organisations of Europe than any other journalist. His articles are well known in the technical press of many countries

SOME fifteen years ago, when broadcasting first excited general interest in Europe, people who took the new technique seriously claimed it as a new means of consolidating peace by making the peoples of Europe acquainted with each other.

True, broadcasting knows no bounds. But this very boundlessness can be, and is used for the dissemination of programmes which are unpleasant, and in some cases even offensive, to the governments of neighbouring countries.

Only recently M Léon Degrelle, leader of the Belgian Rexist Party, was refused permission by the Belgian Government to address Belgians from a Belgian station. He obtained the use of an Italian studio, and spoke *via* Italian transmitters, which are well received in Belgium. Still more recently a Spanish station calling itself Radio-Verda and purporting to broadcast from Salamanca, has been relayed every evening by a number of Italian stations whose names are not mentioned but whose exact wavelengths are quoted.

But these are only recent cases of the energetic use of broadcasting stations for influencing foreign public opinion. And Italy is by no means the only practitioner. Probably the first and therefore, perhaps, the "classical" example of propaganda broadcasts to foreign countries, were the Moscow programmes. Governments have protested against these. The answer has, I am told, been an invisible surprised raising of eye-brows. Information has been preferred that these broadcasts were intended for the groups of, for instance, German-speaking minorities in the Volga district, or for English-speaking specialists employed in Russian factories.

It would take too much space to cite all the instances of broadcasts which were not only intended for, but also openly addressed

to, foreign listeners. Some of these have been material in causing political disturbances, others, such as the publicity broadcasts for English listeners from certain continental stations, are of a more harmless nature, although annoying to the concessionaire for British broadcasting.

Roughly speaking, there are three types of propaganda broadcasts: political, either addressed openly or indirectly to certain factions or parties of another State ; tourist, inviting others to come and see the country ; and commercial publicity.

The Art of Making Believers

Tourist talks and language courses for foreigners as well as so called " news " bulletins in foreign languages can be used to build up goodwill among foreign listeners. This is an important factor. For no propaganda broadcast, however skilful, is of any use without a large number of listeners who *believe* in what they hear. If you sandwich an occasional skilfully disguised propaganda item into your tourist or foreign language broadcasts, or if you select the news in the foreign language bulletin according to a desired propaganda effect, without actually altering the facts just by adequate suppression and proper wording, you will eventually build up a group of listeners who believe in you and are already trained to your view-point. Then, at some crisis, you can risk putting over statements entirely in your favour, and the listener will believe you rather than the statements of the opposite side.

Of course it is not always necessary to add propaganda during the process of building up goodwill, but, as careful listeners will corroborate, this is generally done.

It is naturally a great help if a country has a foreign organisation of its nationals or of its Party living abroad. Listening groups can be formed ; programmes are prepared especially for them, and friends can be invited. By this means small centres of propaganda are formed. Here broadcasting is the all-important direct link with the home centre and word-of-mouth propaganda can help the occasional listeners to foreign language broadcasts to listen more often.

Popular aids to increase foreign listeners' goodwill are pamphlets on the country, personal answers to letters, competitions and, of course, if requested, the despatch of political literature.

With sufficient goodwill accumulated and with a reputation for integrity in its news, a station can, with skill and wariness, get over an immense amount of propaganda for its ideas, and in the case of a political Party with international aspirations, it can greatly help the work of local organisations. Actual open attacks on foreign governments are seldom indulged in as they lead to direct diplomatic protests which can become unpleasant if they are too numerous. They also can lead to reprisals like the "ether war" between Lithuania and Germany over the Memel question some time ago, when a station which the Germans claimed to be the Memel harbour transmitter, jammed Heilsberg's news broadcasts with morse, and when a transportable outfit, claimed by the Lithuanians to be manned by German officials, retaliated on Kaunas.

The League's Attempts

But even the less obvious propaganda broadcasts have caused uneasiness among governments. Following an unsuccessful attempt by the *Union Internationale de Radiodiffusion* at Geneva to bind its members to a gentleman's agreement (this broke down at the time of the "Austrian" broadcasts from Munich at the time of the Dollfuss affair) the League of Nations issued an invitation to a conference for the "Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace" This convention was signed by some twenty States and will enter into force once a minimum of six ratifications or adhesions have been received. This "International Convention concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace," to give it its full title, is considered a minimum prescription to prevent future interference by broadcasting in the internal affairs of other countries and " . . . to prohibit and . . . stop without delay . . . transmissions . to the detriment of good international understanding . . . or to incite . . . to acts incompatible with the internal order . . . of territory of a high Contracting Party."

Article 2 binds the contracting States to prevent transmissions which might lead to incitement to war or other acts which might lead to war. Another article provides against incorrect news items and for the supply of correct information and, as sole positive contribution, the States undertake to place at the disposal of others all material which will promote a better knowledge of the civilisation and condition of life in their countries, etc.

This convention, which has not been signed by Italy, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Finland, Sweden or Latvia—to name the more important European non-signatories—was only signed by Soviet Russia with two reservations, *i.e.* self-help in the case of broadcasts against her and limitation of news information, etc., to those countries with which she has diplomatic relations. Belgium and Spain also signed with reservations regarding self-help against foreign broadcasts. The convention itself provides, first, the usual diplomatic channels for settlements of disputes, and then the usual machinery for settling international disputes which may have been arranged between Parties. They may also by common consent appeal to a special committee of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, or as a last resort, to The Hague Court.

But apart from these international attempts at limiting the international use of broadcasting to friendly programmes, certain countries have from time to time signed agreements between themselves. A radio "peace treaty" was signed between Germany and Poland shortly before the Nazi revolution. And a few years later, in 1934, if I remember aright, the New Germany again signed an arrangement with Poland for mutual understanding.

Provided even that these various arrangements, and the goodwill accumulated between broadcasting officials at U.I.R. meetings, and during the lavish entertainments at these meetings are of use in ordinary times, they will fail entirely in a serious crisis.

Measures for War-time

The question arises: What of broadcasting in war-time? Shall we shoot less accurately because we have heard that the man on the other side is also a musician? Shall we be more humane because of the appeals of the bereaved mothers and children? Hardly. War is cruel and heartless and will remain so. There never is a half-hearted war; either it is a fight or there is peace. I am told that certain people believe that they may be able to avert war by last minute appeals to future combatants. But they forget one thing: we fight wars for causes, or at least we believe so, and make the others believe the same. But the other man does the same—so how reconcile two entirely opposed "causes"?

Already a number of countries have taken measures to prevent

circles of people listening to foreign propaganda broadcasts. Even democratic Czechoslovakia has its measures. In war-time or with war impending War Ministries will immediately issue instructions to prevent listeners from hearing too much of the other man's views. After all, self-protection first, and who in charge of a nation during an international crisis pointing to immediate war would leave the door open to enemy propaganda ?

How to Keep the Peace

The exact technical means of closing the doors can be safely left to the experts who, I am sure, already have their plans all ready. Whether a barrage of " jamming " will start, or whether sets will be sealed or confiscated, will no doubt depend on the size of the territory to be covered. As the danger of the enemy's destroying the broadcasting stations is very great, some countries have already developed systems of nation-wide wired broadcasting systems. These are partly in use in some places, while in others they are kept in reserve. By means of these systems it will still be possible, even after complete destruction of transmitters, for political leaders to address the people who, if they have no telephone, will be assembled in community reception rooms.

At the last government conference on radio communications at Madrid, the principle was set down that in Europe wavelength allocations could only be made for purely national requirements. We, even here, have the classical example of Luxemburg which did not sign the Madrid convention, and started a station on an overcrowded waveband—and got away with it. But on the whole wavelength discipline is quite good in Europe. The short-wave position cries for some world arrangement and it is to be hoped that at Cairo in 1938 the governments will find some solution It would, at one stroke, be possible to make foreign propaganda broadcasts impossible by giving stations in various countries the same wavelengths and arranging for the interference zones to coincide with the frontiers, but even if this were easily achieved, which it would not be, would governments really consent to cut their own chances for reaching the foreign listener direct ?

The British Broadcasting Corporation has until now withheld from any foreign propaganda broadcasts. Even on the short-waves

it limits its news-bulletins to the English language, although nearly every other short-wave station in Europe uses at least three languages. English is spoken by a vast number of people. But for proper effect on a foreign listener he must be met in his own language, although one does not need to go to the length of inviting visiting foreigners to praise London and slang their own capital in their own language for the benefit of foreign listeners. This is crude propaganda, unfortunately practised by some.

No other country can disregard the local listener as the Italians do, by just taking large slices of programme time on the medium waves for foreign broadcasts. Italy has only a comparatively small number of listeners and the climate is not radio-friendly, but on the short-waves, intended primarily to reach out into the world, provision should be made for some service at least to inform those who speak other languages.

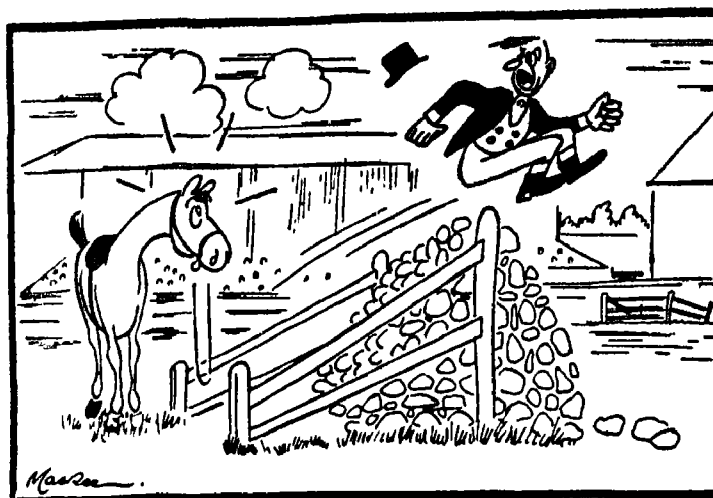
GOOD NEWS FOR COMEDIANS

The Reich Theatre Chamber today prohibited the use of articles of food as missiles in variety shows and circuses to prevent waste in accordance with the Four-Year Plan —*Daily Mail, London*

RUSSIAN EXECUTIONS

Colonel : "No, no, I beg of you Don't promote me to the rank of General ! I am so young and life is so sweet !"

"*Il Popolo d'Italia*"

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH—

"Dublin Opinion"

"Dammit! Like this See?"

"Marianne," Paris.

MANŒUVRES UP-TO-DATE
"Fall in on the cloud!"

ITALY—WEAK OR STRONG?

MEDITERRANEAN CHECKMATE

From the " Dépêche de Toulouse "

The last few weeks have shown signs of a rapprochement *between the British Government and Signor Mussolini. Whatever that may lead to, this well-informed French newspaper finds reasons for stating that Britain is taking precautions for the future. The measures here described will, it is said, safeguard Empire routes, and leave Italy bottled up within the Mediterranean*

ENGLAND first appeared as a naval power in the Mediterranean in the days of William of Orange. For two hundred years she has energetically maintained her position there, more obstinately than ever in modern times, since the construction of the Suez Canal made it the shortest route to India. Throughout this long period the Mediterranean has been patrolled, both in time of peace and war, for military, political and economic reasons, by an important section of the British Fleet, either operating from temporarily occupied territory or using permanent British possessions as their base.

There have, however, been two sensational interruptions : Britain has twice evacuated the Mediterranean ; once, owing to the American War of Independence, and again in 1796, when Bonaparte's victories had caused the defection of the Italian States from the Alliance, and the Treaty of Basle had produced a reversal of Spanish foreign policy. It is worth noting that on both these occasions Spain had become an enemy and that her hostility seriously affected the British position in the Mediterranean.

Britain Clears Out

A third evacuation—or what virtually amounted to one—took place before our own eyes in 1935 and 1936, in consequence of Anglo-Italian tension over Ethiopia. For months—in the course of which we feared the worst - we saw the whole central area of the Mediterranean abandoned by the British Fleet. It left Malta—whose decline Disraeli predicted—and took refuge, as if stricken with paralysis, at the two extremities, part of it in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar and part in Egypt and Palestine--the only sectors where it could command a safe base. The threat of Italian aircraft extended from the Balearics to Crete and the British Fleet gave way before that threat in the same way as the Battle Fleet in the North Sea in 1914 and the French Fleet in the Mediterranean gave way before the submarine. The use of sea forces has been profoundly modified by aircraft, the powerful new weapon of ground forces That this situation is only temporary and will be changed as soon as ships have adequate protection against air attack is, of course, true, but at the moment it forms the crux of the strategic problem

Britain first tried to overcome her geographical handicap by a comprehensive counter-attack. With the Covenant of the League of Nations in their hands, her Minister in 1935 obtained guarantees for the provision of naval bases from a certain number of Mediterranean Powers, among whom was France. These engagements were nullified in July, 1936, when sanctions against Italy were dropped. But Britain soon conceived another and more permanent solution of the problem in case of future wars. This solution may also be called geographical, but its scope is infinitely greater than the former one. Britain has determined in the words of Sir Samuel Hoare, a former First Lord of the Admiralty, " More and more to become an oceanic power " and she has been working out plans conceived in terms of

oceans rather than seas, for enclosing the Italian disposition of forces in the Mediterranean within the frame of a much wider disposition of her own forces.

She will evacuate the central area of the Mediterranean and will be content with a firm hold upon its two outlets. One part of her naval forces will be concentrated at Gibraltar (the Spanish uncertainty again !), the other will have bases in Palestine, in Cyprus, ultimately in an allied Egypt and even at points on the Turkish and Greek coast, if this can be managed diplomatically. Away down in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Fleet will be relatively safe from Italian aircraft and will, in fact, be in a position to profit by the existence of the air-arm. For it will have the advantage of the numerous landing-grounds of Palestine and Transjordania, which are too widely scattered to be anything but poor subjects for attack, but which nevertheless promise means for strong offensive concentrations of aircraft.

Support from the Far East

And so the British programme methodically unfolds : the development of Aden ; the occupation of Cheik-Said ; the creation of naval bases at Haifa and Akaba ; the enlargement of the harbour of Famagusta in Cyprus ; the construction of a hydroplane base on Lake Akrotiri and an aerodrome in the plain of Mesoaria and the expansion of the Air Force in Palestine. With regard to communications and supplies the whole of this vast Palestine-Egyptian area will be independent of the Mediterranean because it will draw its support from the East, from the Indian Ocean : India, the Far East, and Australia will, between them, provide all its necessities. In particular, it will have at its disposal and be able to cut off from the enemy the Anglo-Persian oil wells of Iraq, those of Burmah, Borneo, the newly discovered ones in the Bahrein Islands, in the Persian Gulf, and at Hurgada on the Egyptian shore of the Red Sea.

But what about the famous direct route to India ? Ships will go round by the Cape again, following the old East India Company route : Vasco da Gama will have his revenge on de Lesseps. The British calculate that their Mediterranean trade with goods from the far side of Suez, together make up only 20 per cent. of the total national imports ; 11.4 per cent. for the former, 8.7 per cent. for the latter. Their Mediterranean imports are mainly Egyptian cotton,

and minerals and chemical products from Spain. These it will b possible in time of war to get elsewhere, so that, in fact, only 9 pe cent. of their traffic will have to be deflected by the Cape, with a possible extra 20 per cent. of tonnage. They believe that after a slight preliminary dislocation, lasting from four to six weeks, the new plan should work smoothly. Its only drawback is that it will add 10 per cent. to the length of the route to India and 8 per cent. to Australia ; but they maintain that the scheme is workable and that regularity of service is more important than speed.

There remains the organisation of the new route. This is the explanation of the talk we have been hearing of expanding the base at Simonstown (it will probably be transferred to the Cape) and the creation of an aviation base at Salvanha and the fortifying of a position at Sierra Leone

A splendid programme with a wide scope It has, however, one weak point : lack of ground defences for this Near Eastern block They will want troops and plenty of troops. The home country is not making the necessary effort to provide them, India's response is reluctant, Australia can hardly be said to count in this respect and the Egyptian army is still inadequate. Until this side of it is better planned the whole scheme must lack solidarity.

A VULNERABLE LAND
Expert on Italy in the Mouse-Trap

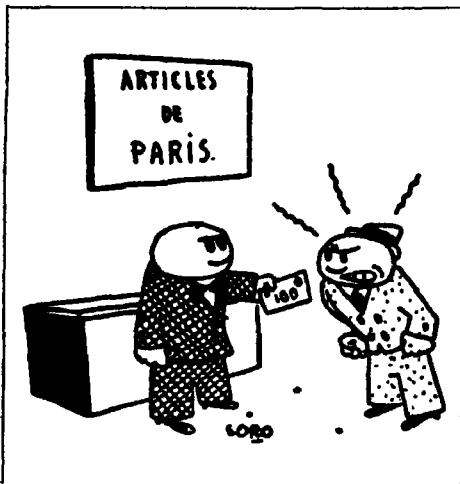
From the " Nationalzeitung," Basle, 2.8.37

THE newspaper readers of Europe may well have come to the conclusion that Italy could do with England what she pleased, thanks to her military might The sudden *rapprochement* between the two countries may appear all the more surprising. Its political results cannot yet be estimated, but it gives the impression that Italy would, after all, prefer to avoid that war, which certain highly-placed Fascist personages have been writing about as a desirable opportunity for a " scrap " with England.

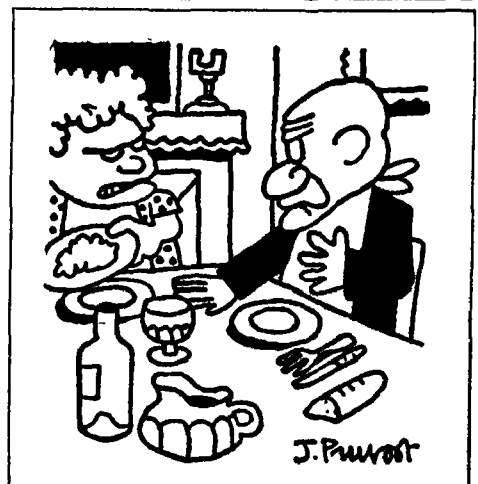
Very opportune is a significant leading article, which appeared in the *France Militaire* of July 29, over the initials S. H. P., and dealt with the vulnerability of Italy.

In the first place, the writer deals with Italy's geographica position, and rightly characterises the Alpine frontier as being nc particular safeguard. Whereas the Alps fall away towards Switzer- land and France in several chains, which would allow of defence b; sections, they rise steeply to the frontier on the Italian side and make a strategic scheme of divided defence impossible. It would be very difficult for Italian troops to defend the country between the Alpine frontier and the valley of the Po, once the frontier was lost.

The review points out further, that an Italian defeat in defending the Alps would have political repercussions among the minorities of South Tirol and Istria, whose obedience to Italy would depend on the latter's military successes; so that "the fate of Northern Italy might depend upon the first clashes." We do not go as far as the French author on this point, particularly as regards South Tirol. This land has not been treated as a lost child at all by either Austria or Germany during recent years, but has almost been sacrificed as a pawn in all kinds of political combinations.

The great vulnerability of the Italian coast is then dealt with in the article. Italy's coastline, 4,250 miles long, is impossible to protect as a whole, even though the poverty and formation of the coastal districts would not favour a landing. On the other hand,

"Ric et Rac," Paris.

ECONOMIC CRISIS IN FRANCE

"What! You won't accept this forged note! It's clear you're still far too well off!"

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris.

AN ITALIAN WAY

"You're not feeling well?"
"No. The macaroni is causing obstruction in my committee of non-indigestion."

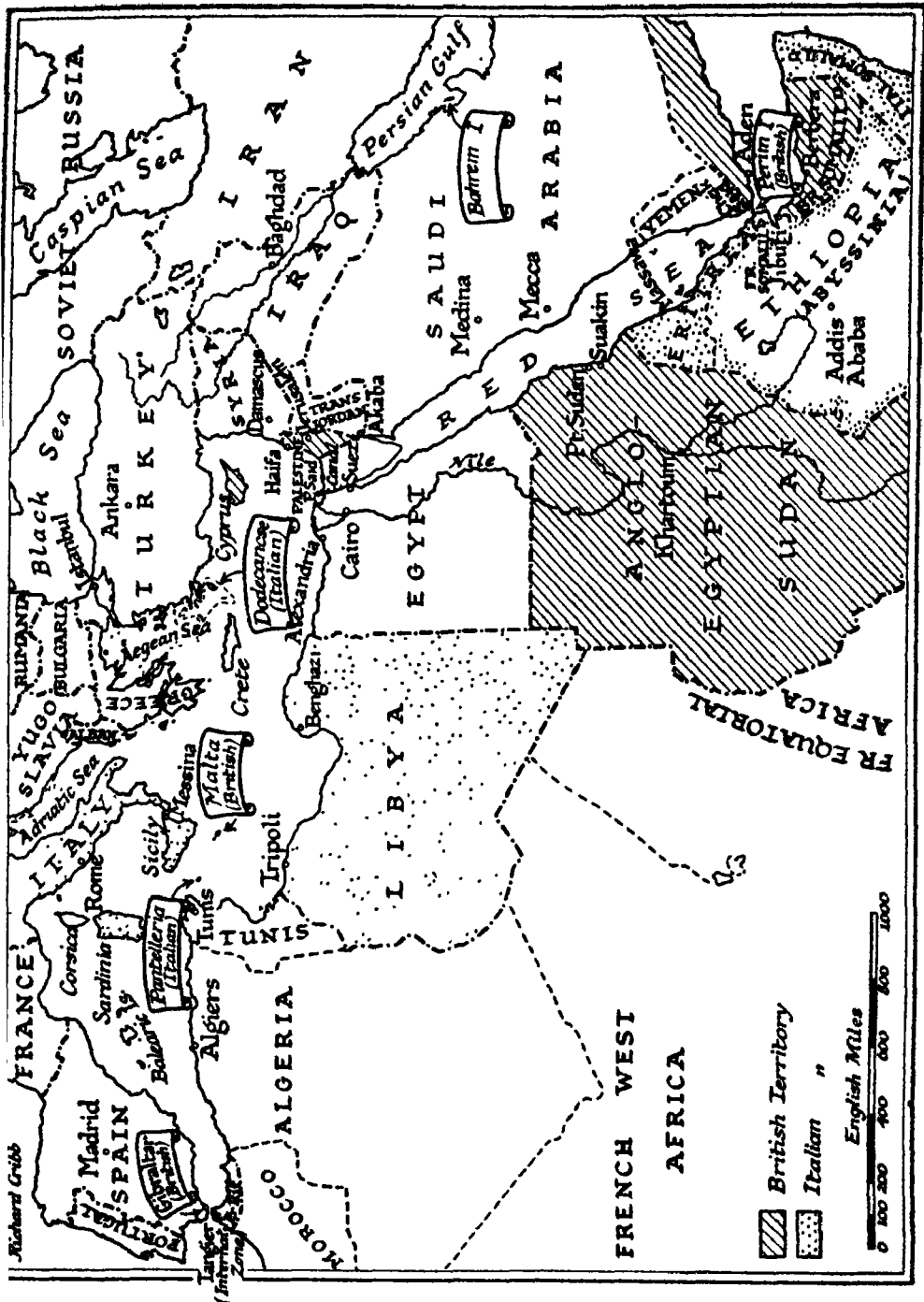
great centres of population—Naples, Genoa, Palermo, Venice and Trieste—lie right on the coast ; Rome itself is only 12½ miles distant from the sea, and therefore within range of fire from battleships.

Weak Spots

Even more vulnerable is Italy's economic position. Her industrial centres are badly distributed. Almost all are situated in Northern Italy, and are, therefore, exposed to invasion from the Alps. Milan alone pays a quarter of the kingdom's total taxes. The valley of the Po supplies alone 48 per cent. of Italian wheat, 99 per cent. of the rice, and 75 per cent. of the maize harvest. Three-quarters of all Italy's factories are situated in the Po valley. It seems from these statements in the *France Militaire* that Mussolini's plans for decentralising industry have not yet been carried into effect.

The position as regards electric power is particularly unfavourable from a military point of view. Of the 4½ million kilowatts produced, no less than 3 million come from the provinces of Piedmont, Lombardy and Venice, where the power stations are all in the mountains, close to the frontier. They are, says *France Militaire*, exposed to a lucky *coup* on the part of the enemy, and their destruction would to a certain extent paralyse the railway system, which is largely electrified. The factories in the Apennines can only be run on electricity during the winter and have to use coal in the summer owing to lack of water power. But Italy herself has no coal, and is extremely vulnerable to blockade as regards fuel.

In view of the poverty of its resources, Italy would be gravely hit by a blockade, for even the Mediterranean is not an open sea. Its entrances are not in Italian possession. Gibraltar is in British control, and so is the Suez Canal, which separates Italy from her African Empire of Abyssinia. The Dardanelles through which Roumanian wheat and oil comes are remilitarised and under Turkish control. "The Latin Sea," says the *France Militaire* "has become a mouse-trap, in which the Fascist Power may well fear being strangled one day ; and here are the basic motives of Italy's attitude towards England."

Mussolini is trying to do away with these difficulties by his efforts at self-sufficiency. Italy can today—dry years excepted—live on its own wheat. But the electrification of the country does not remove the difficulties as regards power production, the oil of Albania is not nearly enough, and food supplies are a source of anxiety.

In order to confine her sources of supply to the Mediterranean, Italy has been seeking to acquire various bases. The *France Militaire* mentions the island of Saseno in the Adriatic, and Albania, as well as the Dodecanese in the Aegean, and believes that Italy, on account of the Suez Canal, would not hesitate to purchase the help of Egypt very dearly. In the Western Mediterranean, Italy belongs to the Powers represented in Tangier, and perhaps she will in some form or other lay hands on the Balearics.

The *France Militaire* ends its interesting article by mentioning that Mussolini, by raising the military strength and moral energies of the people, has tried to counter-balance Italy's geographical and economic vulnerability. In our opinion this hope can only be fulfilled to a limited extent. This extent is not so great as formerly, owing to the character of a modern war. And even in 1914 a highly-placed Italian naval officer said to us : " Ask anything you like of Italy—except a war with England ! "

ITALY'S ALPINE FRONTIER
South Tyrol is Not Enough

From the " Sudtiroler Heimat," July, 1937

Before Mussolini became protector of Austrian independence, and formed with Hitler the bond known as the " Berlin-Rome Axis," the annexation and forcible Italianisation of the German-speaking South Tyrol was one of the greatest of German-Austrian grievances. Nowadays, however, nothing is heard of South Tyrol, except in the exiled paper from which we here quote, which is published in various different places outside Italy

THE problem of Italy's alpine frontier is one of the most important of European questions today. The traveller who crosses the Brenner Pass into Italy may gaze in wonder at the network of roads which wind up the mountain-side and appear to lose themselves in the rocky heights. " *Vietato severamente l'ingresso!* " proclaim huge hoardings, and the glint of bayonets warns him that a zone of warlike preparation guards the northern gateway into Italy.

It is not, however, solely material fortifications which keep watch over the outposts of Rome. It is a recognised feature of Italian policy

to precede territorial conquest by a pseudo-scientific conquest of the mind. Thus the annexation of South Tyrol was prepared not by any migration of population but by countless brochures and tracts, just as the memory of Adowa was kept green by the Ministry of Propaganda in anticipation of a renewed Abyssinian campaign. So it is that scientific publications, which at first sight appear merely scholarly treatises, are often the spear-head of some future political drive.

Such a book is Paulo Drigo's "*Claustra Provinciae*" which deserves greater attention than it has hitherto received.

Paulo Drigo served in the war as an eighteen-year old lieutenant in the Alpini, and then, after studying philosophy at the university of his home-town, Padua, became actively engaged in the different organisations whose aim it is to further the Italianisation of German-speaking South Tyrol. He was hailed in official circles as " a typical representative of the youth of the new Italy."

His book "*Claustra Provinciae*" treats the question of Italy's northern frontier from the geo-political standpoint. Although Italian *Geopolitik* is built up entirely from the work of Germans like Haushofer, Mault, and März, whose theories have no imperialistic bias, yet it is used by Drigo as a peg on which to hang the expansionist programme of Fascism. For over a century Italy's foreign policy was based on the so-called " Watershed Theory." As long ago as 1848 when Austria still ruled Venice and Lombardy, the Italian geographers maintained that all land drained by rivers flowing into the Adriatic should be regarded as Italian territory. Such a demand, which of course included the Brenner pass, then appeared fantastic, seeing that not even Verona or the Trentino was in Italian hands. In Austria this extravagant theory was not taken seriously and it was deemed superfluous to refute it with scientific weapons. And yet, untenable as it was, this theory ultimately triumphed since it enjoyed the necessary political and military backing.

Since that time, Italian *Geopolitik* has advanced yet another step. The "Watershed Theory" has been superseded. Paulo Drigo pokes fun at this " far too modest theory " and champions the thesis that Italy's domains should stretch not only to the watershed and the ridge of the Alps but beyond to the northern slopes and the foothills. In support of his contention he emphasises the Roman occupation of this territory.

Indifferent to the present axis and pact of amity, he broaches the problem of Italy's future frontiers. He points out that "without adequate protection on our northern border an acceleration of the rhythm of Fascist expansion in the Mediterranean would be rash and the success achieved in other directions (Abyssinia) transitory." He therefore claims that the entire Alpine ridge from Monte Rosa to the Schneeberg, on account of its traditional unity under the Romans and its immense physical structure, is Italy's natural bulwark against the Germanic world.

Drigo however recommends a two-fold application of his theory. Whilst demanding for the Swiss Ticino only the "reawakening of the consciousness of Italian nationality and liberation from the illusion of Helvetism," he denies us South Tyrolese all cultural and political rights and brutally dismisses the question with the reminder that "the province of the Alto Adige is ours to do what we like with."

The greater part of his book is concerned with what the author alleges to be the pro-Italian function of Austria. He is blind to the German traditions and sympathies of Austria which for him is still the former Roman province of Noricum, whose future role it is to serve as a strategic out-post to Fascist Italy and to protect her from external assault.

The question now remains as to what degree of importance should be attached to Drigo's book. Italy is now seeking to secure and stabilise her alpine frontier since she needs to turn all her energies to the colonisation of Abyssinia. The pacts with Austria and Hungary, the understanding with Yugoslavia, and the Rome-Berlin Axis are all steps in this direction. On the other hand, no young author in a State so authoritarian as modern Italy would hardly dare to treat political questions in a manner likely to arouse the disapproval of the Government. He would at least be able to count on the tacit support of the authorities Besides, Drigo is a Fascist, and his work as a politician and as a writer will have taught him by now what views one may, and may not, express in Italy today. At all events, it behoves us in Tyrol and Austria—against whom Drigo's theories are aimed—to be on our guard. Drigo himself writes: "It is no service to our Fatherland to administer the narcotics of illusion." Well, we will take good care on this side of the Alps that *our* Fatherland labours under no illusions as to the grim destiny which seems to lie before it.

WHERE BRITAIN DICTATES

AGITATION OVER CYPRUS

From " Great Britain and the East," London, 29.7.37

WITH whatever interest the colony of Cyprus in these latter years may have become invested, it is safe to say that its internal political condition never gives to the British public the slightest anxiety. That public is vaguely aware that for some fifty years the island was endowed with a liberal Constitution, formed by Victorian doctrinaires, that under that Constitutional regime the island was a by-word for backwardness, and that, consequent upon the riots of 1931, when Government House was burned down, the political liberties of the Cypriots were curtailed. It is, moreover, abundantly satisfied that under the present direct administration considerable progress has been made, and it accepts the official statement that the mass of the islanders are content.

No very great impression, therefore, is likely to be made by the small party of Cypriots now in England, and from whom a letter appears elsewhere in this issue. Were these Cypriots appealing for something which had hitherto been denied them, had their escutcheon never been blotted by such events as those of 1931, more attention might be given to their campaign. The British nation is no lover of autocratic rule. Its granting of the powers of self-government in many different parts of the world is standing evidence to the contrary. If it approves of the withholding of autonomy, assuredly it does so with reason.

What is that reason in the case of Cyprus? It can be very simply stated. The clamour in Cyprus has never been for self-government pure and simple, but always for *enosis*, for " union with Greece." That has been the incessant theme of island politicians, and there is no need to believe, despite the apparent innocence of the present suggestion of restoring political liberties, that that aim has been permanently shelved. On the contrary, there is abundant reason to think that, behind this demand for democratic freedom, lies, unconfessed or unexpressed, the greater demand for union with Greece. Now Great Britain is in Cyprus, and, in the present troubled

state of the world, she means to stay there. And if she is to stay there, she must rule there. There is no half-way house. It is a choice between efficiency and disorder. And the authorities in Cyprus, backed by the British nation, are heavily on the side of efficiency. We cannot tolerate a repetition of the events of 1931.

Despite this frank avowal of motive, however, it would be absurd to assume that the islanders of Cyprus are groaning under a tyrannical yoke. The reverse is indeed the case. It is true that a certain number of politically-minded Greek-speaking citizens profess indignation over the curtailment of their hitherto profitless activities, but there is ample evidence that the majority of the inhabitants are content with the present benevolent administration. To suppose that there is in Cyprus an anti-British Nationalist feeling is untrue. The islanders perceive that they have never been so well governed before.

BRITAIN HAS ABOLISHED FREEDOM

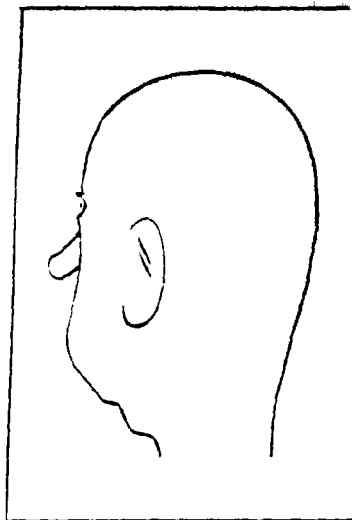
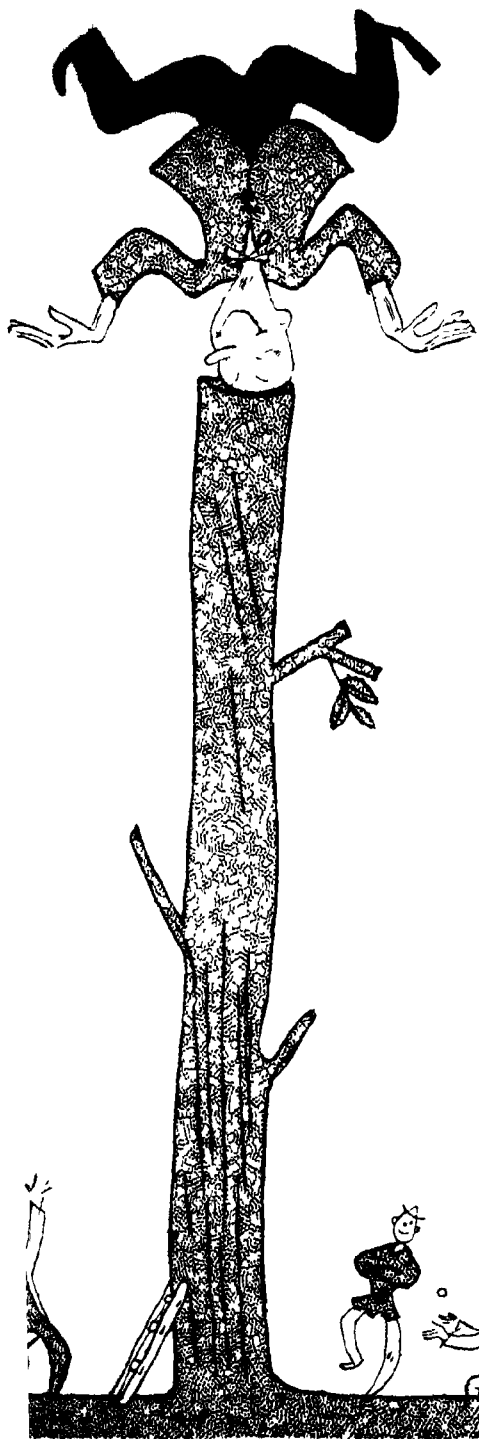
The following letter was sent to "Great Britain and the East" by three Cypriots, former members of the Executive and Advisory Councils of Cyprus, and an ex-Mayor of Larnaca

WE have read with interest in your issue of July 8 the views of Munir Bey with regard to the development of Cyprus. But we wish to take exception to his concluding lines, in which he asserts that "under the present regime the island is developing well."

We really fail to see where the alleged development lies. Unless one might consider as development, for example, the facts that under the present regime (*a*) franchise in Cyprus has been abolished; (*b*) representative institutions have been done away with; (*c*) the Cypriots are not allowed to discuss or to hear a political speech; (*d*) the newspapers are threatened with cancellation or suspension of their licence or with censorship if they touch on constitutional matters in opposition to the declared policy of the Government.

If Munir Bey refers to economic development of Cyprus we indeed fail to see where he finds it.

The public view of the whole matter is fundamentally different from the views expressed in the article referred to.

"Nebelspalter."

Hairdressing Trade Note :
The Reich-Patriot-Cut.
(Cut hair must be delivered up for felt manufacture in Germany.)

ebelspalter," Rohrschach.

and this is our most hopeless case . . . . the man imagines he understands the international political situation !"

WHITHER FRANCE ?

THE LEFT THREATENS DEMOCRACY

From a letter to the "Manchester Guardian." *By Odette Keun*
(French journalist and author)

DURING the Socialist experiment in France I was travelling in England and America, and obtained my information as to French events through the Liberal papers of those two countries. It is true they faithfully recorded occurrences, but their estimate of the Blum Administration seemed to be almost wholly based on his (admirable) handling of the explosive international situation, and drew attention principally to the unprecedented *rapprochement* with England. I was therefore unprepared for certain conditions that confronted me when I returned recently to France, and as I cannot yet resign myself to the attitude of impotent onlooker, which appears to be that of so many of my fellow-Liberals, I should be grateful if you enabled me to point out in your columns the great danger democracy in France was made to run under the Socialist regime.

The worst legacy this regime left the country is not, to my mind, the financial and economic situation, disastrous though it certainly is. The worst legacy is a very evident trend towards government by popular-group pressure—mass government, in other words. An alarming regression and weakening of the Parliamentary system has come about. Since the advent of the Front Populaire to power the major negotiations of M. Blum and his Cabinet were made not with groups of deputies and senators but with the organ of Labour Syndicalism, the Confédération Générale du Travail or C.G.T., and with the organ of the great industrial firms, the Confédération Générale du Patronat Francais, because of its vital importance to Labour. No other class in France was represented by influential delegates in the deliberations of the Socialist Ministry. The C.G.T. is indubitably dominated by the Communist extremists, who are not only preponderantly active in the Chamber but who have managed to annex the levers of command, the posts of secretaries, in all the most powerful syndicates in France—railways, metallurgy, chemical industries,

leather, skins. M. Jouhaux, the secretary general of the C.G.T., notoriously played the role of super-Minister—closeted nearly every day with the members of the Cabinet, nothing was done without consulting him and scarcely anything was done without his assent, save in matters of international policy. Pressure, therefore, of the Communist faction on the C.G.T., pressure of the C.G.T. on the Cabinet, pressure of the Cabinet on Parliament—the government of this country, during the last twelve months, consisted practically in a cascade of successive oppressions.

Political authority has rapidly escaped from the hands of Parliament, so hypnotised by the ever-recurring threat of a "Ministry of the Masses," so conscious of its feebleness and so eager to evade responsi-

"L'Echo de Paris."

RED FRONT A LA MODE.
"My dear Madame! Permit me to kiss your fist."

bility that it acquired the habit of passing motions *in toto* with the utmost docility, and, moreover, of adjourning on the slightest pretext. At a time when the State devalued the national currency without warning, nullified by law a great number of private contracts (individual and commercial, rents, farming agreements, the sales prices of commercial stocks, etc.), and when an extraordinary number of people considered it a proof of idiocy to keep their signed engagements, since "exceptional decrees" afforded them easy outlets and repudiations, the common citizen was faced with the loss of his constitutional defenders.

The Loss of Liberty

This dispossession of Parliament has also led to the curtailment of certain public liberties, such as the freedom of assembly and association, and, especially, of syndical freedom and freedom of labour. The loss of liberty for the worker is startling. Scores of thousands of independent workers have been dismissed from factories, on the imperious injunctions of the C.G.T., by employers menaced with a strike on the part of their organised personnel. The physical intimidation and browbeating of dissidents is prevalent, and although membership of the C.G.T. has increased it is impossible to doubt that coercion is, in innumerable cases, the reason for these adhesions. The strenuous effort to fight the grip of an official, exclusive, universally dictating Labour party is shown in the secession of the Syndicats Chrétiens and the groups of the Confédération Francaise du Travail, who claim the right to bargain with their employers themselves. But the C.G T. continues to demand, with the greatest vehemence, that it should be given the monopoly of engaging all the workers in all the enterprises, industrial and commercial, in France.

If Parliament persists in its series of abdications we shall have a juggernaut Labour in this country, flattening out independence and criticism, and sooner or later the French proletariat will be reduced to the servility of the German and Italian working classes—for the Left is quite as ready to exercise tyranny as the Right. (Incidentally, it might be just as well to ponder the lesson the recent history of Europe teaches : that dictators come originally from the Left, although, since the nature of dictatorship is to govern without soliciting the consent of the governed, all dictators are speedily obliged to resort

to the army and to the police and to abolish private and public liberty in order to maintain their domination. It is the organic necessity of their function which compels them to move to the Right, but I repeat that they do not emerge from it. Soviet Russia is the most *outstanding example of this fatal evolution.)*

Surely there can be nothing more tragically preposterous than the consummation towards which we are sliding : that the vote given by the French people to the Front Populaire, because of the desire to protect the country against a possible grab for power on the part of the unutterably stupid Fascist Leagues, should result in the helpless subordination of all classes to the industrial proletariat. La Peur de la Rue (the Fear of the Street) weighs so heavily today on the Third Republic that unless Parliament makes a determined effort to recover legality the Republican institutions of France will become wholly paralysed.

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

From "L'Humanité," (Communist), Paris

PARISIANS are feeling annoyed, and they have good reason. The raising of fares on public vehicles—in violation of the vote of the *Conseil Général*—and the rise in taxi fares which are being imposed against the wishes of passengers and drivers alike are formidable additions to the general rise in the cost of living.

The trusts do not recognise the suspension of profits. The dweller in the suburbs who pays more for his "season," and the Parisian who pays more for his 'bus and metro ticket, and more for his water, his gas and his electricity, are both beginning to ask the meaning of this strange interpretation of the Popular Front programme. The increase in purchasing power was never meant, in their opinion, to give them the means of paying more dearly for their purchases and providing the trusts with a bonus.

It is not the bankruptcy of a policy that we are faced with, as the reactionaries and Fascists claim ; it is simply the result of failure to apply the necessary *financial* measures to assure the success of the *social* measures that were applied—this, and this alone, has caused the disequilibrium.

There are other means of balancing the Budget besides getting the money out of the poor. And only by political unity, by the strengthening and tightening up of the *Front Populaire*, can these means, whether they be financial measures, or the re-organisation of transport, or the modernisation of industry or the increase of production be made effective.

The people have a sense of their rights, but they have no sense of their duties, except insofar as they identify the country's interest with their own. That is why the Central Committee of our Party, anxious to preserve a political entity which is the best barrier against Fascism and to prevent the *Front Populaire* from becoming an empty form, has been well inspired to call upon all Communists to work for a general Congress of the Popular Front and to do everything possible to obtain unity with our socialist comrades.

Anxiety with regard to this effort at union is shown by the reactionary Press—anxiety which is the stronger since the recent deliberations of the C.G.T. (Trade Union Congress) deeply provoked the circles to which the 200 families belong. "The pause is

"Prager Presse," Prague

"I hope you like the fish, Sir" "Well I *have* tasted better" "But not here!"

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris.

"Dear, you say? Not at all! And moreover, above the cost of living comes the Nation!"

threatened!" cries Kerillis in the *Epoque*. He considers that the municipal elections of October constitute a danger, because he very well knows that they will confirm the wishes of the people of France to see what Kerillis calls "the full programme of the *Front Populaire*" applied. He then calls the Radicals to the rescue—a vain appeal.

Not a single party, not a single organisation adhering to the *Front Populaire* is going back upon the programme which they drew up in concert. There may be differences of opinion as to the rate of application of this programme, but that is all. And it is the people of France, in the last resort, who will be its judge.

WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN?

From "L'Ordre," Paris

TWO opposing tendencies have become more and more apparent in the inner circles of the Popular Front. One side clamours for more boldness—even temerity—of action and the other side finds itself forced to give way a little in order not to have to concede everything.

The will of the masses against the "crystallisation" of the Popular Front is showing itself more imperatively than it did a year ago. We have too often seen the government of the masses impose its will upon the regular government not to fear that the same thing will happen again today or tomorrow. The moderate socialist element and even the Radicals may, after a certain amount of resistance, have to obey the orders of the extra-parliamentary bodies. The organisers speak like masters who are accustomed to be obeyed. The "pause," condemned when it was signed "Leon Blum," is ridiculed, and pronounced absolutely inacceptable when it is signed "Camille Chautemps." So what is going to happen?

DIVINE

Public Meetings: Central Hall, Westminster: "The Divine Destiny of the British Throne and Empire." Important addresses by qualified speakers.—*Advt. in Daily Express.*

MUZZLES FOR ALL

FIGHTING THE CENSOR

by WILLIAM P. CARNEY

From "Scribner's Magazine," New York

News-gathering is no easy job nowadays, as the recent German outbreak of expulsion fever has shown afresh. Here a journalist, who has been foreign correspondent for the "New York Times" for over ten years, tells something of the ways of censors and how they are evaded

WORLD censorship of news is in a bull market in 1937. On practically all fronts, the dispatches which keep American readers in contact with world affairs are being snipped, slashed, or held up until valueless London is the only great date line on a foreign dispatch which guarantees the American reader that what he reads is what the correspondent set out to send.

War-born in 1914, censorship in open or under-cover form now covers all European and Asiatic countries, with the exception of the British Empire, Holland, Switzerland, and Scandinavia. Only the world war, which Europe foresees and dreads, could send it to a higher level. While censorship in each country varies in accordance with the political situation prevailing at the moment, an absolute censorship on cables and radios now obtains in Russia, Japan Germany, Italy, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Hungary, Portugal, and Poland. Spain endeavours to censor every dispatch, including those for telephone transmission.

Under-cover censorship, or censorship in modified form, obtains in China, France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and Finland Censorship varying between modified and absolute prevails in all the important countries of South America. Africa, with the exception of that part under the British flag, is governed by the rules of censorship obtaining in Europe.

Of the major European powers, Russia, Germany, and Italy today impose the tightest censorship on American correspondents. The reason for censorship in Russia is admittedly to prevent world criticism of the government. Walter Duranty, *Times** correspondent

* The *Times* in this article refers to the New York paper

in Moscow since the establishment of the Soviet regime, tells me that censorship there originally professed to have no purpose beyond preventing the publication of untrue statements about the U.S.S.R., but that this was speedily extended to include " malicious " statements, and finally what the authorities termed " maliciously unfair " statements, meaning any marked tendency to dwell upon the less favourable factors of Soviet life. Duranty, of course, does not use the telephone from Moscow. All his cable dispatches must be submitted to the censor before he hands them in for transmission. Rigid rules have to be complied with, and it is necessary often to confer with the censor about sentences or paragraphs or, sometimes, even the question of whether the dispatch in its entirety could be passed.

" Tendentious," says the censor.

He means that the phrase, sentence, or entire dispatch has a tendency to put his country or its government in an unfavourable light. The correspondent may present his reasons for believing that the matter in question is not " tendentious." But the chances are that he loses, and out goes that part of his dispatch, or all of it.

Ears at the Telephone

In Germany, *The Times*, as well as other New York dailies and the American press associations, uses the telephone, perhaps more than the cable or radio. Correspondents telephone to London or Paris, whence their dispatches are relayed by cable or wireless to the United States. Whenever American correspondents resort either to direct cable or wireless transmission, their dispatches are handed in at the general post office for inspection by press censors under Paul Joseph Goebbels, Minister for Propaganda and Public Enlightenment.

When dispatches are telephoned to Paris or London, the correspondent must always bear in mind the many topics he knows would offend Minister Goebbels. His telephoned conversation may or may not be listened to. It nearly always is. I have no record of a telephone conversation being interrupted, but there is good reason to believe that a stenographic record of important telephone dispatches is made either on a dictaphone or other automatic recording machine. Correspondents have been called up by the Ministry for questioning about a dispatch a few hours after it was telephoned and long before it possibly could have appeared in print. . . .

Sometimes the roar-back is delayed. It might take Goebbels a

week to learn that the dispatch which seemed innocuous at the time it was sent was not as innocent of Nazi criticism as was thought. Perhaps the American reaction to a dispatch could not be gauged immediately. The cabled report of the German Embassy in Washington, followed by more details by letter, might lead to questioning of a correspondent, or his ejection from the country. . . .

Correspondents of years of experience and unquestioned wisdom get away with much that their younger and more callow confrères could not attempt. The censor hesitates to lay a profane pencil on their copy, and their dispatches nearly always come through unscathed. Of course, they know their limits.

Italy is similar to Germany. Dispatches designed for cable or wireless transmission are passed through the post office, which controls all mail, telegraph, and wireless. Before transmission of any dispatch is authorised, a censor of the staff of the Foreign Ministry goes over it. It must suit him before it can be passed. Sentences or paragraphs may be objectionable. "Tendentious," says the censor. In that event, the censor will get in touch with the correspondent, and with the correspondent's help the offending matter will be changed or deleted.

Home Consumption Only

Wording of dispatches is never changed by the censor without consulting the correspondent, although minor deletions are made and the dispatch hurried on. This is generally true in all the countries where absolute censorship prevails. Italy's surveillance of telephone news is not, however, so close as Germany's. There is no indication of listening in or of recording the conversations, and the reaction to a dispatch telephoned out of Italy is by no means as instantaneous as in Germany.

Nevertheless, the Italians can move quickly on one point: Mussolini's fiery speeches. Some of them are meant for home consumption only, which means that accurate reporting is indiscreet. David Darrah of *The Chicago Tribune* reported one such speech made by Mussolini in Sardinia during the Ethiopian campaign. Darrah left Italy within twenty-four hours, without even time to pack. His clothes were sent after him.

Hitler and Stalin do not put this restriction on their speeches. When they talk, they talk for world consumption. But while the

tactics vary in these three dictatorships, the main strategy is the same : to prevent criticism.

My own opinion is that the news, on which criticism feeds, is only delayed, that eventually American readers of the best American newspapers learn what is happening abroad.

I base this opinion on my own recent experience in Spain with the Madrid Government's censorship. Over a period of five months I was prevented by the censorship from saying much that I wanted to say in my dispatches. Then one day my paper ordered me to leave Spain and write a long, uncensored piece in Paris about what was happening in Madrid. I believe the effect in America of that one long article, containing all that I had not been allowed to say in five months, was far more harmful, or at least produced more unfavourable criticism of the Madrid Government, than would have resulted if from day to day I had been allowed to say the little in my dispatches that the censors objected to.

How They Do it in the East

Censorship in the Far East, from what I have learned from my newspaper's cable editors, is similar in many ways to censorship in Europe. In Japan, an American correspondent must obtain a press card from the Ministry of Communications before he can do any work at all. But thereafter he can write his dispatches and hand them in with his press card at the cable or wireless offices for immediate transmission. His messages need not be submitted first to a censor. Howevei, if he writes anything that the government may object to strongly, after it appears in print, the correspondent may have his press card withdrawn immediately or be warned that it will be withdrawn if the offence is repeated. The Japanese Government objects, above all, to certain types of references to the Emperor. There must be no levity or facetiousness in any reference to His Imperial Majesty, and no treatment of communism in Japan as a serious movement.

In times of military censorship, American correspondents get around it by telephoning to Shanghai, where the Chinese censor will gladly pass anything indicating trouble in Japan.

The outwitting might take this form : The Tokyo correspondent calls the Shanghai correspondent of his paper and opens the conversation with pleasant inquiries as to the state of the latter's health. In

the course of a seemingly personal and trivial conversation, he remarks, "By the way, old Sourpuss was bumped off to-day." Sourpuss might be the nickname these two had agreed upon for an outstanding figure in Japanese life. The Shanghai correspondent would not need any further instructions.

In China, on the other hand, correspondents hand in their dispatches at the cable or wireless offices, but they are never sent until the censor has read and approved them. There have been frequent cases of American correspondents having their cables mutilated without their being consulted at all. Dispatches have been held up indefinitely, and more than one American correspondent has been thrown out. The Chinese are extremely sensitive to any criticism. Military operations are almost continual, and the correspondent is handicapped by not being able to report troop movements.

One way of outwitting the censor in China is to mail dispatches to Hongkong, which is British territory. Another dodge is to telephone to fellow correspondents in Tokyo.

French Tactics

A perfect example of undercover censorship is provided by France, where I served for eight years in the Paris Bureau of *The New York Times* before becoming correspondent in 1933 As in Italy, the French postal, telephone, and telegraph services are controlled by the Ministry of Communications. News from France nearly always is transmitted by cable or wireless, quickly and just as it is written. Dispatches are sent to the cable or wireless office, but as a matter of course must pass through the general post office where they are rapidly scanned by an unofficial censor (who never is designated as such and is not supposed to exist at all).

There is no delay in transmission unless some correspondent, intentionally or unintentionally, reveals important military secrets or includes some information which might vitally injure French commerce. Usually such dispatches are mysteriously "lost" and found the next day, when the correspondent is notified from the post office that the dispatch "unfortunately" was not sent and in looking it over they found that some bureau of some ministry would like to question the correspondent about it before it is sent.

Sometimes the French Embassy in Washington finds in a dispatch

from Paris a statement which it does not approve. Then, some weeks later, the correspondent is questioned, ever so politely, by a French dignitary. The dignitary might even cloak his wish for further information by an invitation to lunch.

But occasionally a dispatch gets by with news which causes an international situation. The result is something more unpleasant than lunch with wines. Witness the case of Harold J. T. Horan, who was Paris correspondent for Universal Service in 1929. Obtaining a copy of a secret naval agreement between France and Great Britain, Horan telephoned it to London, whence it was cabled to America. Its publication in the United States naturally reverberated across the Atlantic. Horan was called in for questioning by the *Sureté Générale*—the Scotland Yard of Paris—and asked to leave the country. William Randolph Hearst then stepped in. As Horan's employer he tried to save his man by saying that he and not Horan had gotten the copy of the treaty and had telephoned it to London. For his pains Mr. Hearst was also banned from France. The ban was later lifted, but Hearst has never taken advantage of this second thought. " It still sticks as far as I'm concerned," he says.

Great Britain deserves more than a small cheer for its preservation of the freedom of the Press. It is the one major power which abolished the censorship at the conclusion of the World War and has not since restored it—in any form. The American correspondent working in London enjoys practically the same measure of freedom that he would working in his own country. . . .

FREEDOM

In the world's freest and most democratic land, the U.S S.R , only persons faithful to Communism and to our Fatherland can be employed on our newspapers in any capacity.—*Pravda, Moscow.*

MELODY OF THE TRUNCHEONS

A world without police would be like a world without music—a very dreary world indeed.—*Mayor of Johnstown, Pa., speaking from the bench while presiding over the trial of six striking steel workers. "New York Post."*

TEMPTING OFFER

If the Duke and Duchess will come to Mound City to live, we agree never to mention them in the locals without using the prefix Her Royal Highness, with Wally's name.—*Mound City (Mo.) News-Independent.*

GERMANY'S WAY WITH LABOUR

Back to the Guilds

From the " Deutsch-Französische Monatsheft "

IN all industrial lands the majority of workers have never received a true professional education.

At the present moment more than 30 per cent. of the workers employed in industry are without professional education. About 20 per cent. of all employed have learnt only to manipulate a particular machine or to do a not very difficult piece of work. There are even some industries, *e.g.* the chemical industry, where only 40 per cent. of the workmen have received professional education. The state of affairs can better be realised when it is known that 600,000 youths leave the elementary schools annually, and to only 350,000 of them is a professional education guaranteed.

It goes without saying that in the long run such a situation is intolerable. From the moral point of view, it is unjust not to be able to give that social security which is guaranteed only by a trade carefully learnt in the course of a true professional education. From another angle, the present state of things is not only unjust to the individual but equally dangerous for the whole rational economic system.

The leader of the German Labour Front, Dr. Ley, and the Minister of Education, Dr. Rust, have decided in co-operation to introduce a fundamental reform of professional education. Its first principle is the introduction of the so-called " Robinson year " for all pupils in the top class of elementary schools In the course of this year the young will spend their time in elementary wood and metal work ; the use of iron will teach them to work with care and accuracy ; the use of wood will give freedom to those who are more fitted for individual, creative work At the same time the " Robinson year " will help to guide the apprentices slowly towards the occupation for which they are by nature fitted and in this way to avoid the arbitrary adoption of a profession Finally every man wishing to become a workman or artisan will have to work for two years as an apprentice with a master belonging to the artisans' Guild. Having finished this

primary education the young workman will spend another year in a special workshop of a large factory in order to become a *Geselle* or "companion." As *Geselle* (or journeyman apprentice) he has to travel across the whole of Germany so as to get to know his country ; after this he will pass his examination to become a "master." Every year the apprentices, the companions and even the masters will have to take part in a professional competition. To complete his technical education compulsory professional schools will be established for all youths choosing the trade of workmen or artisan.

The authors of this reform hope thus to solve one of the most terrible problems of the "labour question" and to offer to the nation at the same time the specialists it so badly needs.

IN A GIRLS' LABOUR CAMP

The inscription on the wall reads "One thing stands written large in the heavens : Everything may pass away, but Germany—our children and Fatherland—Germany must endure !"

THE CLOVEN HOOF IN EIRE

From "Narodni Politika," Prague

"Boys will be boys!" was roughly the way in which the British Press commented on the explosions which were a feature of the King and Queen's visit to Northern Ireland recently. Very different was the reaction in less placid States, to whom the English attitude is always a source of worry and puzzlement. Here is a typical example from Czechoslovakia

AFTER these latest happenings, perhaps even those Englishmen's eyes will be opened, who still do not fully grasp the extent of German—and, probably, Italian—activities in Ireland ; for the Irish revolutionary movement, in fighting Anglican England, frequently disguises itself in a Catholic cloak.

England continues obstinately only to protect the coast of Flanders, and her policy is to see that Germany does not rule in Belgium and Holland But now one may well credit the reports which state that the Germany Army has already established its secret aerodromes in Ireland, seriously threatening England in the rear. Germany is obviously paying the Irish revolutionaries, supplying them with bombs, guns and explosives, and organising them. Just as she did during the World War.

And so we expect that the events in Ireland will produce a complete change-over in the views of those Englishmen who have so far had no better counsel to offer, to Czechoslovakia too, than : "Come to an agreement quickly and at any price with Germany, and don't irritate her." Great Britain is conciliatory to Germany, and reaps the reward—in Ireland!

GIGOLOS A STRONG MARKET

Someone now on his way Home on leave was so impressed with an item in the ship's radio news that he sent it on to me Here it is

"Perfect social escorts will be available at a price for feminine visitors to London in future For £3 you can hire a young man who dances well, talks well, knows the social graces and boasts a fine family tree Extra charge for late hours. For £6 he will take you on a full round of London night life from theatre to night club and breakfast Food, drink and cover charges extra, Oxford accent tossed in "—"*Straits Times,*" *Singapore.*

FAR EASTERN EXPLOSION ~

ABOUT NORTH CHINA

by PU SHIH-KWAN, PEKING

From " Die Neue Weltbühne," Prague (Socialist Weekly)

"Provocation" by the Chinese, on the one hand, and expansionist designs by Japan on the other are the rival causes of the war in China given by the two combatants. Here, and in the following articles, we give expressions of opinion on both sides, and an analysis of reasons why, in an American writer's opinion, Japan does not constitute a real menace to any first-class Power

JAPAN'S new offensive is a link in the chain of invasions which began in September, 1931, with the occupation of Manchuria, continued in January, 1932, with the fighting in Shanghai, went on in the spring of 1933 with the occupation of Jehol, and was carried on according to plan in November, 1936, with the war in Suiyuan.

The theft of the five North Chinese provinces—Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, Chahar and Suiyuan—which had been in preparation for years, was of even greater importance to Japan than the occupation of Manchuria, for these five provinces supply 55 per cent. of all China's wheat, and 60 per cent. of her entire cotton production ; they contain 88 per cent. of the Chinese coal supply, 64 per cent. of the Chinese railway lines, and important deposits of iron ore. Politically, the provinces would constitute for Japan a new, strategically extremely important, jumping-off ground for troops against the Mongolian People's Republic, the Soviet Union and Central China.

In order to reach their goal in North China the Japanese tried, two years ago, to bring to life a so-called autonomy movement in the five North Chinese provinces. This failed ; the Japanese were only able to found the " autonomous anti-Communistic Council for East Hopei," with the help of a few bribed officials, and after that to occupy a few strategically important places in Hopei and Chahar.

Later, the " Political Council for Chahar and Hopei " was founded, an organ for discussion between China and Japan on all North Chinese questions, to which various army officers and high officials who were not unfriendly to Japan belonged. The Chinese people

looked on this Council with aversion, as they are hostile in general to everything that brings them closer to Japan.

Since the establishment of the first puppet government in North China, demonstrations against Japan have taken place all over the country, in which students, workers, thousands of professors, teachers and members of the *petite bourgeoisie*, and even of the richer classes, took part. Though there were many arrests at first this movement went on developing successfully, up to the autumn of 1936, into an extensive mass organisation, the " League for the Rescue of China," which is feared by the Japanese. Eight times the Japanese Ambassador Kawagoe negotiated with Chiang Kai-shek, and eight times negotiations were broken off, because the Generalissimo, under the pressure of public opinion, could not give in to Japan.

The Japanese demands were as follows :—

1. Economic co-operation between Japan and China.
2. Political autonomy for North China.
3. An anti-communistic pact between China and Japan on the lines of the treaty between Japan and Germany.

The first demand was already to a certain degree a *fait accompli*, for Japan had begun on " economic co-operation," that is to say, the exploitation of North China By further " co-operation " the Japanese meant :

1. The establishment of airways which would have military and political importance. With this end in view the Huitung Air Company, with a capital of four-and-a-half million American dollars, was founded, which had the task of organising five air lines from Tientsin, whose existence would be a real help to the Japanese army, for Tokyo could then be reached from Tientsin in eight hours.

2. The second point of " economic co-operation " was the exploitation of the iron mines in Hopei and of the coal mines in Shansi by the Japanese. Since Japan possesses little iron ore herself she is compelled to import annually an average of four million tons from Manchuria, India, the U.S.A , France, and, to a lesser degree, from Russia. The mines of Lungyen have a capacity of ninety-one million tons of the best quality ore.

3. The third point of " economic co-operation " is concerned with the construction of eleven railway lines. First of all the Japanese

want to build, with a capital of about eight million American dollars, the Chang-Shih line in Hopei, which would be extraordinarily useful for their purposes. This line is not very long (about 221 kilometres) but it is of special military and economic importance, since it runs through the richest coal and iron district of the province, a district in which, moreover, much wheat is grown and cotton produced. The great economic importance of this railway line is proved by the fact that during the years 1925-29 Italy, France, England and Japan struggled, one after the other, to get permission from the Chinese Government to build it, all without success.

4. The last point of the Japanese economic programme concerns the projected extension of the Haiko and Taku harbours. Japan's original plan was to dig the river bed of the Haiko deeper, in order to make it possible for Japanese steamers and warships to land right in Tientsin.

The annihilation of the Chinese communists, and the division of the Chinese people into two hostile camps, was the aim of the Japanese militarists. Now they want, once again, to conduct a great planned war in North China in order to maintain their power which, as the results of the last election proved, is threatened even in their own country.

STUNNING BLOW IS WANTED

From "Kokumin," Tokyo

THE outrages of Chinese soldiers in North China are increasing. They have trampled on all agreements, and Japan can no longer stand the situation. Despite its declaration that it means to follow a policy of not enlarging the trouble, Japan is likely to be forced by circumstances into taking drastic action in order to uproot the sources of evil in China. The real cause of the current situation is quite clear. It is the Nanking Government's policy of imbuing the people and soldiers of China with zeal for resisting and insulting Japan. Some members of the Government seem to realise that this policy has been carried too far, but it is now too late for them to do anything about it. Nanking must reap what it has sown.

Japan should have nothing to do with Chinese attempts to effect

a compromise in order to save face. It must act drastically to make the Chinese people reconsider their attitude. This may prove a bitter pill for them to swallow, but it will be effective in remedying their evils. If the pill is given, they will awake from their narcotic slumber and see the real need for reconstruction of China. They will thus be able to preserve their independence and prestige as the oldest race in the world. China is at present nothing but a semi-colonial country. To save itself from this awkward situation, it must realise the greatness of the Japanese race.

We stressed at first the need for localising the North China situation, but we have revised our view now that it has come to the present pass. The misguided policy of the Nanking Government over many years is the real source of all the trouble. A local settlement would hardly fulfil requirements. Japan's attacks must be concentrated on the Central Government.

It is reported that the Government has made known to China through diplomatic channels what it considers necessary for solution of the situation. If Nanking does not accept, it should be dealt a stunning blow. The situation in China for the past few years has been not unlike that which prevailed before the Sino-Japanese War. Li Hung-chang and his associates went too far in insulting Japan, and Chiang Kai-shek and his New China are repeating the blunder in a more serious manner. China must realise that Japan is not in the least afraid of war.

IS JAPAN DANGEROUS?
A Bogey Laid

by MARC T. GREENE

(American newspaper correspondent)

From "Current History," New York

THE American is all at sea in trying to size up the situation in Japan. And he is equally off soundings in his endeavour to understand the Japanese people.

And yet it is so simple, after all. For here are millions of people,

desperately overcrowding a country the size of the British Isles and only a sixth of which is really arable, all trying to sustain their existence. The pathos lies in the fact that they are satisfied with so little. Go about the country, in the villages, even into the poorer parts of the large cities, and mark the measure of contentment that prevails.

Are these millions of peasantry, these city industrial workers who are labouring at the highest kind of high pressure for little more than the subsistence minimum that Japan may expand her foreign trade and thus build up an enduring economic structure, are they all to go on securing even that little ? Or are they are to be crushed entirely by the burden of an enormous military establishment almost certain to force the country into a foreign war ?

That is the main issue for Japan and it was never more clearly defined than at this moment. It is inseparably associated with the political issue, which is one of authoritarianism or democracy. By the way the two are decided Japan will stand or fall, be a menace to the world or a friend.

The War Spirit is Absent

The world, especially America, is apt to conclude that the whole Japanese attitude towards the rest of the world is a definitely aggressive one, that the whole country is in the grip of the militaristic obsession, that Japan is swayed from end to end by the " will-to-power," and is, therefore, dangerous.

Nothing could be farther from the facts. And if it were a question, or even in any considerable degree a question, of the will of the Japanese people *en masse* there would be little for the world to apprehend. What more convincing proof of that is necessary than the May election, when the two parties representing not only the hopes and wishes of the common people, but also the views of the middle class and the demands of the great industrialists, swamped the militaristic Hayashi Government ? Yet on the day following this decisive result the Army itself, throwing all its cards face up on the table, prepared this statement and caused the War Minister to submit it to Premier Hayashi :—

> Resignation by the Government at the present time would nullify the effect of the effort to have the political parties engage in self-examination embodied in the dissolution of the Lower

House. It is up to the Government to watch the Parties for a while to ascertain whether or not they have gained the proper conception of the situation.

The naive precocity of this would be laughable if the potentialities of such an attitude were not so deadly. The two popular political parties have overwhelmed the Government at the polls, but that is a mere childlike gesture of defiance sure to be regretted as soon as those parties, having engaged in "self-examination" under the Army's watchful eye, have "gained the proper conception of the situation," that is to say, realised the unpatriotic enormity of what they have done in opposing the Army's will. After that other measures will be in order, and unless the people resist them the last vestiges of democracy will indeed have disappeared from Japan, and she will have become a menace to peace.

The leading newspapers, such as the well-known *Asahi*, are opposing the blatant attitude of the Government in flouting the public will so far as they dare, which is not very far.

Army Propaganda

But for every one of these leaders twenty small town sheets are disseminating Army propaganda. The smaller the town and the less literate the readers, the more preposterous is the character of this sort of printed propaganda The people are told that if only they will back the Army and "defend Japanese nationalism against the foreigners who would destroy it," Japan will some day attain to the "complete dominance of the Pacific," and compel a "reverent respect" from all the world. After which the economic position will be so greatly improved that every farmer will at least be sure of tomorrow's handful of rice.

There is no doubt whatever that the studied and thoroughly-organised Government propaganda is having its effect even upon the naturally well-disposed Japanese masses Moreover, anyone who is unresponsive to it runs a strong chance of trouble, and perhaps of personal danger The Government has its spies everywhere. Numberless arrests occur weekly for "dissemination of dangerous thoughts."

And yet the May election strikingly declared the slow progress the military regime is making in its endeavour to convert the Japanese people to an aggressive and militant imperialism. The fact is that the

Japanese are simply not constituted that way. They are, on the contrary, temperamentally friendly, kind-hearted, anxious to please all foreigners.

Said the leading Osaka newspaper, *Mainichi*, the other day :—

> When other nations tell us our standard of living is low, we do not like it. . . . As a rising nation, pioneering its own way through handicap and hardship, we are ready to make greater sacrifices than those who are enjoying already the fruits of past struggles. . . . If other nations are afraid to compete with Japan's low production cost, they are simply advised not to irritate our sore spot. Every barrier erected against our exports will make us preserve our teeth-gritting spirit of pioneers that much irritate our sore spot. Every barrier erected against our exports will make us preserve our teeth-gritting spirit of pioneers that much longer. It is not Japan, but her foreign competitors who are keeping the labour cost in Japan so low. Give us a chance to speed up our transformation from an empire-builder to an empire-preserver. That will mean the basic solution of the so-called world economic problem concerning Japan.

This very succinctly sets forth the Japanese point of view in the matter of cheap production. Note the words " empire-preserver." This cheap production, "dumping" if you prefer to call it that, must go on and in increasing measure in order to preserve the empire.

Nine out of every ten Japanese desire peace, amity with other nations, and an end to the increasingly rigid militaristic regime. Some of that nine-tenths, like the large merchant class and the great industrialists whose prosperity depends on foreign trade, even the powerful banking and shipping interests like Mitsui and Mitsubishi, would have peace because an enduring peace and that alone can mean prosperity for Japan. But the average Japanese is friendly by temperament, and I challenge anyone who knows Japan to establish the contrary.

The other exceptions (apart from the military) to the general tendency towards non-agression and anti-militarism are various elements of the younger Japanese, a large part of the student class, idle pleasure-seeking sons of the rich, a few of the aristocracy, and the relatively small group of sincere believers in the political principle of authoritarianism.

The "young Japanese group," as it likes to call itself, is the counterpart of the young Fascists and Blackshirts in Italy and the young Nazis in Germany. If you, as a foreign tourist, have any unpleasant experiences in Japan, it is practically certain to be from this group. Indeed, it can hardly be from anybody else.

In civil differences in any country the side having the military with it generally wins. In Japan one side *is* the military, with a certain following. The other side is the people represented in the Seiyukai and Minseito Parties, with able leaders tied of hand and gagged of mouth. In the Diet dissolved just before the recent election these were unable to make any stand against the passage of a budget which devoted more than half its total to the fighting services, or for the very necessary revision of the election laws, and more than 40 other measures having to do with the economic and social welfare of the people. All of them were passed by because disregarded by the Army and Navy. Ignored likewise was the protest by the people's representatives against the crushing and ever-increasing burden of taxation while the largest budget in the nation's history was forced through by Army-Navy threats and bullying. That means the total debt will reach the enormous sum of 11,000,000,000 yen ($3,500,000,000) next year, having increased more than 735,000,000 yen within twelve months.

Trade Figures Cause Uneasiness

It is clear that only a rapid expansion of foreign trade will sustain such a burden And when the business and commercial leaders of Japan contemplate an unfavourable trade balance for the first four months of the present year of 390,000,000 yen, it makes them more than ever dissatisfied and uneasy. Such an unfavourable balance, more than double that of the same period of 1936, has the utmost significance. First, of course, it reveals the extent of Japanese foreign purchases of raw materials, chiefly for military purposes, and those mostly of steel and copper. Yet despite such purchases the steel shortage is so acute that 20,000,000 yen worth of commercial and general construction work has had to be abandoned to the demands of the military establishment for the metal. Clearly disclosed, then, is the extent of "preparedness" plans in Japan, and their huge expense to the people.

Assuming that the militaristic party is able to carry through its programme, just how dangerous will Japan become to the peace of the world? The recklessness, amounting almost to madness, of the Army and Navy in their insistence on a more aggressive foreign policy, and their precocious confidence in their ability to "bluff" the world on the basis of past successes, both lend to the threat its dangerous character. Between this and the economic menace there is little or no association, and the latter can be met effectively by a number of means, while the former can be countered only by similar "bluff," which, failing, inevitably means force.

Such being the nature of the Japanese threat, just what is behind it? Just how great is the power to enforce the "bluff" if "called"?

Four Weaknesses

Four fundamental causes detract from that power, and eliminate Japan as a real danger, at least more than temporary, to the peace of the world. They are, in order of significance, as follows:—

(1) The ominous financial position and economic weakness due to an unfavourable trade balance, heavy debt burden and excessive taxation.

(2) The destruction of foreign trade consequent upon a large-scale war.

(3) The physical condition of the Japanese workers and peasantry, who would have to be drawn upon heavily in the event of war with a first-class power, resulting from years of intensive labour under hard and sometimes inhuman conditions and upon a low standard of living, and their temperamental disinclination for war.

(4) The ineffectiveness of the Japanese military establishment, considered from the standpoint of a first-class power, modern equipment and European morale.

Number one has been outlined in sufficient detail, though it would be possible to adduce much more evidence. Number two is too obvious to require comment. Number three is equally clear to anyone at all acquainted with prevailing conditions. Number four, perhaps, demands some elucidation.

The fact is, of course, that Japan, though her militarists are fond of claiming that she has never known defeat in war, has never

encountered anything like a first-class power. It is only absurd to base any boastful claims on the conflict with Russia. It was no more a conflict with a first-class power than was the affair at Shanghai in 1931. And anyone who was there knows how little military glory that "incident" reflected upon the Japanese and how far it was from establishing any just claim to military prowess.

No Match for a First-Class Power

Whence, then, comes this notion that has gained so much ascendancy throughout the world, especially in America, that Japan is a dangerous threat to a first-class military power?

Is it because of such frenzied, perfervid, fanatic nationalism as was widely publicised through the Shanghai "human-bomb" episode, and the fear that a people who, as it appears, willingly die rather than yield, are very dangerous? But there are plenty of equivalent happenings in the war annals of every people. And in any case such frenzy soon exhausts itself, both physically and psychologically.

Moreover, in air strength, more important than everything else combined in modern warfare, as we have seen proven conclusively enough lately in Spain, the Japanese are notoriously ineffective. Not for an instant could they withstand the enormous and highly efficient Soviet air force stationed at Vladivostok, to take one example, and they know that perfectly well. And even if they could hope to bring Germany into a war with Russia on the west, how would that save Japan in the east?

War with America? Even if the militarists should embark upon so reckless an enterprise, it is more than doubtful that they could carry the country with them. The people of Japan as a whole feel more friendly to America today than in years. They want no misunderstanding with us and, so far as anything that is of the future can, in days like these, be forecast with any certainty, they will have none.

And upon what basis is founded the high regard for Japanese naval strength that keeps the Pacific side of America so apprehensive? Granted the power and the modernity of Japanese naval units on paper, what about the personnel, its fighting effectiveness and its morale? The only available standard of judgment is again the war with Russia.

There is no intent to affront the Japanese by unfair criticism of their fighting forces, but for the good of all concerned it is time this bogey of the Japanese menace was laid. The fact is that Japan in her present condition could not sustain a large-scale foreign war unaided for a month. Furthermore, the Japanese people would certainly mutiny as soon as the myth of invincibility so carefully built up by systematic propaganda were exploded by one bad defeat. As a people they do not want war. They want peace in order to carry on their industries and secure a decent standard of living and freedom from apprehension, from uncertainty of what the future holds. Only the strongest kind of assurance that war would presently bring all those things, together with an increased measure of world-prestige, could induce them to accept it. And as soon as that assurance were destroyed, as would speedily happen, there would be revolution. That may come as it is, if military despotism continues and the economic burden it involves grows heavier.

COURTESY AT THE FRONT LINE

"But is not Eastern Chahar still subject to the Chinese Government?" I asked Father Meyer of the Mission.

"Certainly, and normally this district is patrolled by troops under the command of the Tutung at Kalgan Tomorrow, however, one of Tutung's staff is to carry out an inspection of the Chinese forces at Paochang, not many miles away. As frequently happens, the local commander has not enough men to show on parade, and asks the Manchurian General to lend him a few for the day. They duly arrive, change their armlets, and take their places beside the forces with which they were exchanging hostilities yesterday. This is not considered dishonest or traitorous since the Chinese will do the same for the Manchus when requested."—*Magazine Digest.*

FIDO THE PARACHUTIST

Experiments in parachute-jumping for dogs are being carried out in the Soviet army. After Soviet soldiers have landed by parachute behind the lines in enemy territory, their messenger dogs should be able to follow them by the same means. One recent experiment was carried out by a Soviet airman who climbed to 1,800 feet. At a word of command, and without showing a trace of fear, the dog is stated to have jumped into space. The automatic parachute opened and the animal floated slowly towards the ground. The dog's trainer jumped almost simultaneously, and was thus able to watch the dog as it descended. The trainer stated afterwards that the animal kept perfectly still during the descent. When the trainer called to it by name it turned its head towards him and barked. Finally it landed gently on the ground.—"*Air Review,*" *London.*

THE WORLD'S OLDEST NEWSPAPERS

From the "Sydney Morning Herald," Australia

IT is a proud reflection for the English that seven out of ten of all the newspapers in the world are printed in English, but it is not to England that one turns for the birthplace of the newspaper press. The old world knew nothing of linotype machines and million circulations, but it had its own way of spreading the news, and the *Acta Diurna* gave a daily account of public events in Rome during the dictatorship of Julius Caesar

The *Acta* was posted in the Forum, and copies sold, and it must have recorded the first paragraph of English news, when Julius Caesar landed at Dover 1990 years ago. There was some sort of "yellow journalism" even then, for the *Acta*, in embellishing the story of a murder trial, recorded that "a shower of baked bricks fell during the proceedings!" The news of the *Acta*, however, was usually simple enough, and free from extravagance. On April 4, in the year 585 after the building of Rome, the *Acta* contributed these records to the world's history "It thundered, and an oak was struck in that part of Mount Palatine called Summa Velia early in the afternoon." "A fray happened in a tavern at the lower end of Banker Street, in which the keeper of the 'Hog in Armour' tavern was dangerously wounded." "Tertinius, the Aedile, fined the butchers for selling meat which had not been inspected by the overseers of the markets."

It was, on the whole, a faithful record in its day, but the *Acta* died with Julius Caesar, and did not live to earn the distinction of being the oldest newspaper in the world. That distinction belongs to China, where the *Peking Gazette* is printed today on silk, as it was printed a thousand years ago.

STATISTICS ON STATISTICS

Three million statistical returns were published last year in 2,000 statistical reviews throughout the world, according to figures issued in Washington.

In addition, another 3,000,000 returns have been published in books and annual reports It is estimated that statistical observations are increasing at the rate of 100,000 a year —*Prager Presse, Prague*

WORLD REVIEW COMPETITION

Result of Competition No. 7

For this Competition we asked for opinions from our readers as to which innovations we might usefully copy from Germany, Italy or Russia. Most agreed on motor roads, labour camps and physical training from Germany, and care for the worker from Russia. Italy came a bad third. Mr. T. H. Worgan struck an unusual note by praising the Führer for showing Germany the real meaning of "free will" "Though foreigners be fearful and distrustful when the German leader says 'I will!' Aryans everywhere are ready to stake their last dollar that what he says will be will be. What more glorious certainty could they pin their faith to? It is not a case of 'we might learn something from Germany,' but rather 'we are born fools if we do not.'"

First Prize

We can learn :—

(1) From Germany—organised employment of those morally stagnating in idleness.

(2) From Russia—moral rebuilding of prisoners—*e.g*, Moscow-Volga canal experiment

(3) Levelling of classes (Russia, Germany).

(4) Facilities for working mothers (Russia)

(5) We are *only beginning* to think of physical well-being of the masses (Germany).

(6) Government interest in the arts (though no dictating).

Ethically, in a country of extremes of rich and poor, speaking two respective languages, we can improve much but—we *have* souls of our *own*. Who would forfeit such inheritance, part of us, but also hardly-earned?

(Mrs). B. Jowitt (B Sc.).

Second Prize

Two things the Nazi regime can teach us, by showing us practical results. What are they? Firstly—Labour Camps; Secondly—Physical Training.

1. The system of control is foreign to our ideals, but the benefits derived by the otherwise unemployed campers are great. Would not our unemployed be given a different perspective, if the Government instituted a similar system?

2. Would not compulsory P.T. as practised in Germany lift our apathetic youth from the "C" to the "A" Class? We know the Government has suggested and adopted a so-called Physical Culture Campaign! But how meek and mild! It lacks the punch and zeal of that produced by the Fuhrer. In aforementioned is the process whereby "weeds" become useful "plants." Is it necessary to have a "forcing house" to accomplish the transformation?

T. H E.

THRIFTY ESKIMOS

Eskimos in Alaska have learned to make use of Uncle Sam's air mail service without paying for it in postage. Learning the schedules and stops of the mail planes they send each other messages written on various portions of the exterior of the fuselage, particularly the tail. Pilots and landing field employees often noticed both Eskimo men and women cluster around their planes after landing and examining the surface closely. Then the pilots found the hieroglyphics which they learned were messages friends and relatives sent to each other from town to town.—*Wall Street Journal, U.S.A.*

We remind our readers that we are always glad to give advice on travel questions, and are in a position to obtain from the right quarters any information that may be required about tickets, hotels, etc.

TAKE WING !

by ALISON OUTHWAITE

THERE are so many occasions in this publicity-minded world on which people or organisations are praised with ulterior motives that it is a pleasure to find an object for one's genuine enthusiasm Such an object is, for the writer, the German civil flying service, the Deutsche Lufthansa, whose praises can be sung with a loud and cheerful voice

Civil flying has reached a pitch in Germany which we in England do not properly realise All important cities in the country are linked, not only with Berlin but with each other, and with every capital of Europe, and many other foreign cities besides The Lufthansa's time-table map reveals a complicated network of airlines, looking like the work of a particularly industrious and ambitious spider A day spent at the immense airport of Berlin at Tempelhof, which incidentally, like all German airports, has been made a very attractive place to spend at least an afternoon, is an astonishing experience From early morning until deep into the night, the air is full of the great monoplanes—often six or more over the aerodrome at once, and dozens on the ground The atmosphere is that of a busy junction Altogether 91 different airlines are flown by the Lufthansa, linking Germany with 22 countries The number of passengers carried last year was 232,000.

Reliability—by which is meant percentage of scheduled flights carried out—is an important factor and one of which the Lufthansa, without indulging in any obnoxious comparisons, can be justly proud Flying all through the winter, night and day, no less than 98 per cent. of all scheduled flights were carried out last year. Over and over again it has been the experience of travellers to hear at Croydon, or read in the newspapers after a foggy day : " All services cancelled, except the German." This is not chance, or foolhardiness, but simply due to the far-advanced skill of the Germans in the science of blind flying Flying by instruments alone has for years been demanded of all the pilots, to whom sight of the earth has long ceased to be of any interest It is a German invention, the Lorenz blind landing system, now installed in many other countries, which enables pilots to fly on an inclined course right down to the landing ground in the densest fog.

When one considers the number of days and nights when fog prevails over Europe, it will be realised what that figure of 98 per cent. represents in scientific equipment and skill in its use.

This independence of the earth for guidance also means that pilots are free to seek the altitude at which the air is calmest. Travellers in German planes will notice how they almost always fly at considerable heights, above the clouds, and how amazingly steady the Lufthansa's Ju52 machines are—very often steadier than a train. For those who *like* to be reminded by bumps and rockings that they are really flying this steadiness is almost a disadvantage.

So much for the Lufthansa—but what about flying itself? How is it that so few people, even among those to whom money is no obstacle, still keep to the crawling train and dawdling, uncomfortable boat? To take the practical advantages first: one can fly between breakfast and lunch from London to Berlin or Munich; or, a journey, which, in a German express, takes 4½ hours and costs 25s., takes only 1¼ hours by air and costs only 30s.

But there is in general far too much emphasis laid on the practical advantages of flying and far too little on its unmaterial side: perhaps because it would need a poet to capture its beauty in words. To describe the upward rush through grey fog on a winter's day into the dazzlingly lovely world above the clouds would tax the powers of even an advertisement copy-writer. And if there are tense moments, such as when the plane noses down, down, down through impenetrable gloom, down till the altimeter touches nought and still no sight to the earth beneath—surely they add a welcome spice to the journey?

WHERE ARE OUR MOTOR ROADS?

by CAPTAIN G. E. T. EYSTON

THIS month's visit to Germany of a large and representative British delegation, to inspect the new motor roads, forms part of a big national roads campaign now being organised in this country.

Contrary to popular belief, the demand for up-to-date motor roads comes not so much from sporting owners of private cars but from operators of commercial vehicles. Better roads are for them no luxury but a vital necessity. The lead in the present campaign for a new road policy has been taken by the British Road Federation, who represent every class of commercial road user. They base their demand for special motor roads on four main grounds—public safety, convenience, industry's need of cheaper transport, and finally, national defence.

Great Britain is a small and densely populated country, and is now in the unenviable position of possessing the most congested roads in the world. Private cars numbered 1,643,000 last year, and are now increasing at the rate of 170,000 a year. With the continuance of prosperity, a total of 2,500,000 cars must be expected by the end of the next five years. Commercial vehicles numbered 610,000 in 1936, and are increasing at the rate of 30,000 a year. The density of traffic on the roads is double what it was ten years ago.

In view of this tremendous growth, the British Road Federation rejects the present system of merely improving

existing roads. If the country is to benefit fully by the development of motor transport, special motor roads designed for fast motor traffic must be built. A minimum width of 300 feet of actual road space is required, traffic in each direction should, of course, be separated and full provision made for the segregation of different classes of traffic on different tracks. There should be cycle tracks, tracks for light motor traffic and tracks for heavy traffic

A large proportion of road accidents could be avoided by the segregation of different classes of traffic, and the provision of new roads which ensured at all times a proper view of the road ahead Congestion during fine summer weekends has become a public scandal It results in loss of time and increased costs for road users, and also in fatigue and irritation, and is undoubtedly an important factor contributing to the bad accident record of certain notorious roads

The provision of an adequate network of special motor roads would enable large reductions to be made in the cost of road transport. There is ample evidence to show that in most countries good roads precede motor traffic rather than follow it, and there is a real danger in this country that, unless drastic alterations are made in the road system, the development of the British motor industry will be checked by lack of roads.

There, briefly, is the Federation's case These roads cannot be built for nothing The great new motor road which the Lancashire authorities have approved in principle from Warrington north to the borders of Westmorland, will cost between five and six million pounds for a total length of 54 miles To raise such huge sums for road building the Federation suggests a loan of two hundred million pounds, secured on the proceeds of motor taxation

"PATENT
CASTROL
is a component
part of your
AUSTIN"
say the Austin Motor Co. Ltd.
WAKEFIELD
PATENT
Castrol
MOTOR OIL

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

WAR FROM ALL SIDES

VAIN GLORY A MISCELLANY OF THE GREAT WAR, 1914-'18 Compiled and Edited by Guy Chapman, O.B.E., M.C. *Cassell* 8s 6d

Reviewed by BRIGADIER-GENERAL F P CROZIER, C B, C M G, D S O

As the author says in his introduction, this is not an anthology of literature, but "an attempt to display the War of 1914-'18 through the eyes of those who took an active part in it" This is important because we have heard in the past far too much opinion expressed about the War by those who did not take a very active part in it A Staff Officer at G H Q has no more right to express opinions about what went on in the front line, than has the reader of a morning paper to express opinions about the work of firemen, putting out dangerous fires, about which he can have no personal knowledge or experience

Yet this book is an anthology, an anthology of fact, and that makes it more important

The surprising thing about this book is that it has met with well-deserved approval from extremes which seldom meet.

Personally, to me, the book is a fascinating revelation of war details placed before me in grand sequence Moreover, it is a book which can be taken up at odd moments and read with interest on every page

I should like to see this book made compulsory reading in the senior forms of all schools, among all Members of Parliament of all nations, and by pacifists in particular, and when I say pacifists, I mean real pacifists, and not people who desire to end war by making more war

If I were to particularise on any one gem among all these gems, I would recommend the reading of "The Decision," as a true embodiment representing the British Senior Commander at his very best, because the decision of General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien to fight at Le Cateau was one of the most typical examples of what the calm mind of a soldier should be amidst tempestuous surroundings.

What puzzles me is the measure of agreement among critics as to the futility of war as a means of settling disputes, and the divergence of opinion among the same people as to what should be placed at the command of the world as a substitute for the things which are condemned by mutual consent.

The concluding lines on the last page :

Oh mercy give us grace to live,
Oh God send wisdom soon

(Ll. Wyn Griffith)

is all very well, as an expression of pious

hope, but the world wants more than that. War abolition, a refusal to take part, a refusal to be bamboozled, a substitution of something worth while instead, must be our aim.

" Stick to it, matey ! Stick ! " words told to Beverley Nichols by Robert Meynell, when the latter was in a guard-room awaiting trial as a Conscientious Objector—are the most appropriate thoughts of mankind at this time—thoughts expressed openly, during the War by fighting men, to a Conscientious Objector (Robert Meynell), when told by him that he could not fight because of his religion. It may not be in the order of things for the multitude to refrain from doing the wrong thing on account of their religion, but this at least we might expect, that they do the right thing because of their common-sense.

VIEWS ON GERMANY

GERMANY. THE LAST FOUR YEARS. By " Germanicus." *Eyre & Spottiswoode.* 5*s*

OLIVER CROMWELL. By Ernest Barker. *Cambridge University Press.* 3*s*. 6*d*.

Reviewed by H. Powys Greenwood

Germany, The Last Four Years, is in the main a reprint of the famous February, 1937, number of *The Banker,* whose colossal estimate of German rearmament expenditure and scathing criticism of the results of National Socialism caused widespread sensation at the time. From a remarkable analysis of German official figures it concludes that Germany has spent some 30 milliards of marks (or £2,500 million at the official rate) on armaments, strategic roads, etc., during the last four years. This colossal effort has undermined the whole economic structure of the country, insulating it from reviving prosperity and rendering necessary a bastard Socialism of economic control combined with a rapidly falling standard of living. But Germany is still only capable of facing a brief war against a limited number of enemies and the Reichswehr generals know it. Both they and the Nazis want to use their armaments for international blackmail—*i.e.*, to secure treaty revision, colonies and hegemony in Central Europe. We should refuse to be blackmailed, "Germanicus" maintains.

I wish I had more space to deal with Professor Barker's little reprint of a lecture on Cromwell delivered in Germany and his subsequent notes on the historical parallel between Cromwell and Hitler. The parallel, he says, is largely false. But "it is true that there is a sense in which Germany . . . is going through a stage of development through which we went some centuries ago It is the stage of unification ; of the acquisition of national homogeneity ; of the attainment of a sure and tranquil basis of national life, on which men are agreed, and in the strength of which they can quietly pass on their ways upon their lawful occasions "

THE KINGDOM OF REASON

DENMARK. By Agnes Rothery. *Faber & Faber.* 12*s*. 6*d*.

Reviewed by Oliver Warner.

This is a charming book. Those of us lucky enough to have travelled in Denmark know precisely the feeling which Miss Rothery describes as coming over even the crudest tourists when they enter the Tivoli, those pleasure-gardens in Copenhagen where an atmosphere of dream and reality blend as they seem to nowhere else in the world so well " Instead of being submerged by the pressure and racket of vulgarity,"

she writes, " one is wafted into a realm of innocence, and steps into a naive vista like a pink-sashed little girl or a blue-bowed little boy walking through a lace-paper frame into the heart of a valentine."

That (though with proper adaption to reality), approaches what many sane people feel about the whole of this ancient little kingdom, which has for so long set its greater European neighbours an example in civilisation To go to Scandinavia is, indeed, an education in how to live, and a liberal one

Miss Rothery has covered in this book not only Copenhagen, but every salient aspect of Danish life Her sympathy, and her descriptive power, which she never strains, make her an admirable guide If one has a grouse it is, first, that Denmark would be more delightful still if only its summer were longer, and, secondly, that Miss Rothery's text deserves clearer illustrations, though her plates are certainly abundant She has written an interpretation which will be of real help to the Northern traveller

THEY KNEW NO BETTER

LODGERS IN SWEDEN By Romilly and Katherine John *Faber* Illustrated 12s 6d

Reviewed by MARIAN POLLAK

OUGHT one to be kind about a work like this, finding its freshness and *naiveté* charming instead of irritating? Yet, surely even charming young people could have set themselves a higher standard than this for their book? Mr and Mrs John youthful, apparently, and with no specialised interests—went to Sweden for a six-months' holiday knowing nothing whatever about it beforehand. They lived cheaply, not seeing or doing much ; they appear indeed to have had very little occupation They struggled with the language, met a few people and gathered miscellaneous information from their landladies. Sweden is not, however, so completely unknown to the Western world as they seem to think, and the impressions they have collected in this way, in the spirit of newcomers among unvisited South Sea Islanders, are not of much value to the more informed reader. While there they did not care much for asking questions, and neither then nor since do they appear to have in any way " read up " their subject They confess with a disarming frankness to an almost complete ignorance of Swedish history, geography, politics and social institutions ; and though they went about with open eyes and were, up to a point, curious about what they saw, they have been unable to tell the typical from the accidental in the small experiences that came their way Readers to whom this light-hearted approach is not unattractive will find the book pleasant The sections describing a stay in the early spring in forest country on the borders of Varmland and some summer weeks spent in a fishing village on the West Coast are the best, and give some idea of Swedish landscape

FANTASTIC CONFLICT

THE WAR IN SPAIN By Ramon Sender *Faber & Faber.* 12s 6*d.* Translated by Sir P Chalmers Mitchell

Reviewed by G L STEER

SOMETHING has gone wrong with this book of Sender's experiences with the militia in the Civil War. All the ingredients are there the thrilling story, beginning with the first weaponless fighting in the Sierra de Guadarrama, ending with the defence of Madrid ; one of the best writers in Spain ; the cord of unity to the whole found in Sender's political feeling for the people ;

a sympathetic translator. But not a satisfactory book.

Particularly where the author is describing action—the bombardment of his artillery post at Peguerinos, an attack upon Bargas that failed—he adds something to our knowledge of the war and liking of literature. For this is the first officer's book to come out of the war, and it is written by a writer But it is often marred by rhetorical passages, flat dialogue, exposures of eccentricity in the author's own outlook and treatment of his enemies which may amuse the Spanish reader but do not echo beyond the Peninsula. One has a feeling that Sender is trying to be subtle with the simplest elements : that he is writing himself down to politics This criticism, however, does not mean that *The War in Spain* is not worth reading The Spanish Civil War has many peculiarities among armed conflicts · a simple humanism among the soldiers, an extraordinary inefficiency combined with idealism in command . the impression generally that here are far too few fighting men, all ill fed, far too keen or far too apathetic by turns, ranging over one of the loveliest sets for war that the naturalist war writer could desire . a set far too high for them In inverting the Spanish scene, which he paints so well, with this atmosphere of muddled fantasy, Sender has been honest and he has succeeded His heroics should not be lightly dismissed They represent something in Spain, which does not mean that they are often acted upon.

SHORTER NOTICES

"VOLUNTEER IN SPAIN." By John Sommerfield. *Lawrence & Wishart.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

If Mr. Sommerfield were not a Communist and his war were one which had the blessing of priests and politicians, *Volunteer in Spain* would be in its umpteenth edition. The proportions of idealism, humour and horror that you find in it are so absolutely true.

The book should be widely read, if only to make the comfortable middle-class Englishman realise that Communism has now exactly the same hold over many of his young and educated compatriots as "Patriotism" had over other young men who went off to defend liberty, justice, decency and so on in Belgium twenty-two years ago.

Mr. Sommerfield served in the International Brigade in Spain, and his short sketches show how a comradeship and common belief, transcending all barriers of language, has kept together one of the most amazing armies in history.

V. B.

ORDEAL IN ENGLAND. By Sir Philip Gibbs. *Heinemann.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

A book to be recommended to puzzled foreigners anxious to understand the Englishman of today. Sir Philip Gibbs is a superb reporter, who deftly picks the essential and revealing points out of any conversation or event, and displays them trimmed of irrelevancies. Going everywhere, knowing all and sundry, and possessed himself of an open, liberal mind, Sir Philip Gibbs is the ideal interpreter of England

The abdication crisis, the attitude towards war, communism, and Germany are among the subjects on which England speaks in this book. The writer's own friendly personality, though not obtruding, pervades the whole of it.

JUST TOO GOOD OF US

Up to last night only Great Britain and Poland had handed in their replies to the British *questionnaire* on non-intervention.—*Times.*

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

GREAT BRITAIN

July 18 Naval agreements between Great Britain and Germany, and between Great Britain and Russia signed in London The agreements are for limitation of navies, and extend the provisions of the Naval Treaty of 1936 to Germany and Russia. Japan is not a party of this Treaty, and Russia on this account reserves greater freedom from Treaty obligations in respect of her Far Eastern fleet.

„ 20 Debate in House of Lords on Palestine begun (*see* p 15)

„ 22. Mineworkers Federation vote to maintain the ban on Communists

August 1. Mr Neville Chamberlain sent personal letter of goodwill to Mussolini, expressing hope that misunderstandings may be removed

„ 7. Three Nazi journalists ordered to leave England Reason not officially divulged, but no connection with journalistic work

GERMANY

July 19 Commercial agreement with General Franco concluded

„ 25 General Goering, head of the Four-Year-Plan for self-sufficiency, announced formation of a State company which will take over the development of iron ore deposits neglected by private enterprise

„ 27. Use of grain for fodder forbidden. Supplies requisitioned

August 10. As reprisal for expulsion of Nazi journalists from London German Government asked *The Times* to recall its Berlin correspondent, Mr Norman Ebbutt, as he would otherwise be compelled to leave Accusation against Mr Ebbutt was of constantly sending anti-Nazi reports

„ 11. Foreign Press Association in Berlin protested against threatened expulsion of Mr Ebbutt German Press now accuse him and others of subversive activities, after it had been pointed out that the Germans were not being expelled for anything connected with journalistic work

ITALY

August 3. Count Ciano, Foreign Minister, in interview declared that way was now clear for examination of ways and means for restoring good relations between Italy and Britain.

August 6 Italian newspaper correspondents to return to London, and English papers permitted again into Italy. Press adopted optimistic tone on prospects of improved relations.

SPAIN

July 16 All parties to Non-Intervention agreed on British plan as a basis for discussion

„ 25 In an effort to break deadlock, *questionnaire* on their attitude to the British plan, sent by Britain to the 26 States on the Non-Intervention Committee.

„ 30 Committee debated replies to *questionnaire*, which revealed wide divergence between Germany-Italy, and Russia on the question of withdrawal of volunteers and granting belligerent rights. Russia demanded complete withdrawal of all foreign troops, including Moors, before discussion of belligerent rights

August 3 M Delbos, French Foreign Minister, reported to have appealed to Russian Ambassador to induce his government to be more conciliatory in their attitude towards British plan.

„ 8 Britain sent protest to General Franco about air attack on the *British Corporal*. French and Greek and Italian ships reported attacked by rebel aircraft

„ 13 France stated that she cannot receive any more Spanish refugees than 50,000, and already has nearly 46,000

BELGIUM

July 23 King Leopold in letter to the Prime Minister, Mr van Zeeland, proposed establishment of an international economic institute to solve the problems menacing humanity

IRISH FREE STATE

July 20 De Valera re-elected president.

„ 28 Bomb outrages by Republicans as protest against the King's visit to Northern Ireland

PALESTINE

July 25 Arab Higher Committee published statement of its objections to the British partition scheme.

„ 30 Mr. Ormsby-Gore presented the case for the British scheme before the Mandates Commission of the League at Geneva

PALESTINE (*continued*)

August 2. Mandates Commission cross-questioned Mr. Ormsby-Gore.
„ 3. Zionist Congress opened in Zurich under presidency of Dr. Weizmann.
„ 4. Government of Iraq protested to League on British partition scheme, and demanded establishment of an independent Arab State.
„ 7. Criticism of British handling of Palestine disturbances expressed by Mandates Commission.
„ 11. Zionist Congress rejected partition as proposed, but authorised further negotiations with Britain on new Jewish State.

IRAQ

August 16 Cabinet resigned

INDIA

August 4. Lord Linlithgow and Mahatma Gandhi met for the first time Good results hoped for from friendly conversation

CHINA

July 15. Troops sent from Japan to North China following the Liukouchiao incident
July 19. General Chiang Kai-shek, Chinese Prime Minister and Generalissimo, declared that Japan's demands went beyond the limit of endurance.
„ 23. Tokyo announced agreement with North China authorities, made without reference to Nanking Government.
„ 27 *and* 28. Fighting in Peiping after Japanese ultimatum demanding withdrawal of Chinese troops.
„ 29 Tientsin bombed. Mr. Hirota, Foreign Minister, declared in Tokyo that other countries would be unwilling to intervene, and anyway intervention would be rejected by Japan.
August 6. Japanese Diet unanimously urged the government to reject all peace proposals "insulting" to Japan.
„ 11 Twenty Japanese warships off Shanghai Japan demanded withdrawal of Chinese defence forces to at least 30 miles from the city
„ 12. Japanese demands rejected. Shanghai bombarded.
„ 14 Heavy casualties in Shanghai when bombs were dropped by Chinese on International Settlement.
„ 16 English women and children evacuated from Shanghai by warships.

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CONTENTS

A one-handed cripple girl showing Mr Vernon Bartlett her work

THE

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VERNON BARTLETT, in the midst of one of the most important conferences ever held in Geneva, found time to appeal on the Radio on Sunday, September 12th, for the cripples of the Greater London area. These cripples are waiting to be helped by P O.I.P.H. to become useful citizens whose work can be sold in the open market. We now appeal to you to send your contribution, if you have not already done so, to

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THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

BRITAIN AWAKE!

by VERNON BARTLETT

THE Prime Minister, I am told, is alarming his colleagues by a desire to put the British Empire on the map again. He hopes to make the name of Chamberlain as famous as that of Palmerston. Even Mr. Anthony Eden, whose gratitude he has won in the past by supporting him against the more defeatist or reactionary members of the Cabinet, is now supposed to be worrying lest Mr. Neville Chamberlain, throwing his weight about in this way, should break the frail bridges the Foreign Office is trying to build between London and Rome, London and Tokyo, London and Berlin.

This may all be the invention of a notorious and lying jade. If, on the other hand, it is sober fact it suggests that Mr. Chamberlain, who has started with a pretty poor Press, will quickly become a very popular Prime Minister. For even those millions of his compatriots who are so frightened of possible war tomorrow that they quail before the risks which must be faced if we are to avoid certain war the day after would like a more vigorous and decisive British foreign policy. I have developed the habit of eavesdropping in clubs ever since I heard one elderly and important old gentleman in the smoking room say, almost timidly, to another : " Have you ever seen a paper called

the *New Statesman*?" And it was illuminating to hear the comments about the bombing of Sir Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen which passed between the few August survivors of a famous club. The very men who have most bitterly attacked the League of Nations lest its insistence on morals and law should drag us into war were most violent in their denunciation of Japan, whose lawlessness they so encouraged by their attitude during the Manchurian invasion in 1931. The one mildly liberal man among them, whom they habitually consider a dangerous firebrand because he supported the plea for sanctions against Japan and Italy, was obviously quite pleased to hear them—for the British Empire is more likely to survive if it quarrels with outlaws than if it cultivates their friendship at any cost—but he suggested that the attack on the British Ambassador ought not to give rise to the danger of war.

A much stronger British foreign policy is likely to relieve the anxieties of both these sections of opinion—the nationalists and the internationalists. Even anarchists like Mr. Garvin and Lord Rothermere could scarcely object if their own government indulged in a little of the bullying they so admire in other governments. On this, if on nothing else, British public opinion is likely to be united, at any rate for the time being ; everyone would be pleased if the government made its voice heard in a slightly more boisterous tone than the frightened and plaintive murmurs in favour of nice gentlemanly behaviour all round to which we have become accustomed since the Hoare-Laval plan.

* * *

This is the first requirement. What the government is boisterous about is, of course, in the long run, likely to be more important than the mere fact of its boisterousness. But we must not expect too much of it. The tone of its protest to Japan, with its emphasis on the iniquity of the new theory that warlike action without declaration of war and indiscriminate bombing of civilians far away from any fighting zone are quite justifiable, was admirable. It reminded politicians—British as well as foreigners—who are in danger of forgetting the fact that there is such a thing as an international sense of decency.

And how we need that reminder ! The wounding of a British Ambassador who was doing his job in one country by the airmen of

another country was bad enough. But the first tentative excuse that the Japanese airmen were hoping to murder the prime minister of a country with which they were not officially at war was a great deal worse. And this is not all. It is small beer compared with the revolting hypocrisy we accept without protest in the Spanish conflict. Every member of the British Government is convinced that the mysterious submarine which has been sinking steamers, without warning and with no attempt to save their crews, from Gibraltar to the Dardanelles was an Italian one. Every member of the British Government has read of the official Italian casualty lists resulting from the advance on Santander, and the Italian Generals who are officially and boastfully admitted to be commanding in Spain. And within an hour or two of the publication of these names the Non-Intervention Committee was allowed to meet again and great gratification was expressed in official circles that the atmosphere at the meeting was so cordial.

Could indecent hypocrisy go further ? We recognise one government in Spain and its foreign minister takes part in the meetings of the League of Nations as the representative of an independent, self-governing State. We could hardly fail to recognise a government which, even if one accepts all the derogatory statements made against it, has come far nearer to accepting the free vote of the people than the governments in Italy, Germany, Russia, Poland and several other States with which we maintain friendly relations. But we refuse all military supplies to that government on the plea that we must save the peace of Europe by enforcing strict non-intervention. And when one of the most important rulers represented on the Spanish Non-Intervention Committee boasts of the way in which he is breaking its rules by sending troops to fight in Spain, our answer is to congratulate ourselves on that ruler's cordiality ! It needed an attempt to torpedo a British war vessel to stimulate our sluggish consciences.

No Good from Cowardice

All this is done, presumably, in order that relations between Great Britain and Italy may improve. But there can be no honest relationship on such a basis. It is certainly much better to be friendly with Italy than to fight her, but to be friendly on the strength of such cowardice and injustice—No ! One prays that in such circumstances

Mr. Neville Chamberlain will destroy these damnable little bridges. It is certainly foolish to pretend that democracies and dictatorships can in no circumstances live side by side, but that, in order to do so, democracies should adopt the same policy of lies and hypocrisy as the dictators seem to choose for themselves—No ! One prays that in such circumstances Mr. Neville Chamberlain will be as blunt and John Bullish as Lord Palmerston.

* * *

But how can the Prime Minister outdo Lord Palmerston? During the Abyssinian dispute we tried the experiment of talking big and then acting small. It failed. In the Manchurian dispute we tried the experiment of talking small and acting small. It failed. In the Western Mediterranean dispute we have tried the experiment of talking small and not acting at all. That, too, has failed. The European situation is now much more critical than it would have been, had a vigorous statement of British policy in the Western Mediterranean been made before Italy had had time to turn Majorca into a valuable air and naval base and before the personal prestige of Hitler and Mussolini had become hopelessly linked up with the fate of General Franco.

Even if we had all overburdened ourselves for years with higher taxes and had completed our programme of re-armament, the Palmerston touch would be very dangerous in all contingencies except one. Each month of political inactivity adds so much to the material difficulty of making the Empire strong enough to meet all comers. Those of us who predicted in 1931 and 1932 that Japanese ambitions would be rather increased than satisfied by her success in grabbing Manchuria have had our predictions terribly justified by the events of the last few weeks. The Die-hards and British anarchists who opposed League action to save Abyssinia and who supported General Franco in Spain (conveniently forgetting that all the groups in that country who were pro-German in the last war are pro-Franco today) have lost us so much influence in the Mediterranean that it is now taken for granted we should have to depend upon the Cape route to the Far East in the event of war. We have given away so many strategic positions that no increase in the size of our army, navy and air force will be an adequate compensation.

The truth is that we have only three choices. We can throw our imperial weight about and hope that in doing so we shall not so provoke Italian, German and Japanese jealousy of our Empire that they will combine to make war on us. Or we can continue our present process of handing away the Empire to anybody who asks rudely enough for it. Or we can win over as many nations as possible to share our risks (and thus to lessen them), to share our hopes of peace (and thus to increase our security). This third choice, this one contingency in which we could afford the Palmerston touch, involves a return to the League Covenant and a new effort to work it in the interests of peace rather than for the maintenance of a lot of peace treaties conceived in an atmosphere of revolting hatred, revengefulness and suspicion.

* * *

During the struggle of 1914 to 1918 we learnt the importance of allies. No country was too small to receive the attentions of our propagandists. We had at all costs to convince them that there was more justice and decency on our side than on the other. Having convinced enough of them that this was so, we were able to win the war.

The one great hope for the British Empire is that we should win so many allies in peace time that there could be no war. The Abyssinian dispute was of no conceivable interest to most members of the League ; it was, in their opinion at least, of great interest to the British Empire. They came forward to co-operate with the British Empire only because Mr. Anthony Eden managed to convince them—since he was then himself so convinced—that he and his government were above all anxious to uphold decency and order in international affairs. The profound mistake made by so many British conservatives is to imagine those same allies would be forthcoming to defend the British Empire. Why, in heaven's name, should they ?

On the basis of the League Covenant, but on no other basis, Mr. Chamberlain can win the applause of the great majority of nations by an imitation of Lord Palmerston. The existence of that document is his greatest asset even in his dealings with States which are not members of the League. Precious weeks have been wasted—and nobody can measure the disastrous results of that waste—because the British and United States Governments could not make up their

minds to agree upon a joint warning to Japan at least to avoid the destruction of their material possessions in Shanghai and other parts of China. As in 1931 and 1932, when the Manchurian dispute was preparing the way for the present war in the Far East, each government waited on the other to act. The United States is not a member of the League, and yet British initiative could have produced a League ban on the supply of credits and war materials to Japan which would have fitted in with the American neutrality law and have thus produced a common front against the aggressor which would have prevented, or at least have shortened, a tragic and incredibly futile struggle.

The French Government, quicker than our own to realise these facts since it has no English Channel between its own territory and that of its neighbours to encourage a dangerous tradition of waiting and seeing, has shown at this year's League Assembly a revival of interest in the international machine. So often in the past London has been prepared to make the machine work when Paris was unwilling, or *vice versa.* It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that, during the coming months, the governments in both capitals will agree to make it go.

And then it would go. For the British sense of equity and the French sense of law are complementary rather than contradictory. Their rare periods of co-operation in the past have always produced hopeful results for the whole of Europe. They have evolved so much, learnt so much, since the last such period, in the Chamberlain-Briand-Stresemann days, that a new phase of co-operation in Geneva should last far longer and achieve far more. May it be given to Neville Chamberlain to succeed where Austen Chamberlain failed, and, by a better understanding of the case of the dissatisfied Powers, to restore respect for international decency and order !

OH! BOY!

He is not tall, he is a little heavy, his body is timid. Ah ! His glance is unforgettable, like that of all rare beings. A troubled and trembling glance, full of sweetness ; the man is delicious and mysterious. . . . His forehead is beautiful . . . with feminine sensitiveness and delicate features. In the smile of this warrior one sees a woman's soul and a child's heart. The ravishing thing about Franco is his purity.—*Description of General Franco, from " Candide," Paris, quoted by Edgar Ansel Mowrer.*

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

All the world likes to read gossip about other people. Unlike film stars, neither statesmen nor diplomats hire publicity agents to tell the world their taste in toothpaste or their views on the modern girl. Hence the little human eccentricities that lurk behind the imposing figures officially presented to the world are seldom known. These personal notes aim at giving flesh and blood to the men whose names appear so often in our political articles

Diplomatic Whirlwind

MADAME GENEVIEVE TABOUIS, who contributes to WORLD REVIEW this month, has long been in the front rank of French diplomatic journalists. Her enthusiasm for collecting news is boundless and international affairs hold for her all the excitement of a spy drama on the screen. Her ideas circulate so fast that the Chancelleries of Europe cannot always catch up with them. But, if at times she colours things too vividly, it also adds to the sparkle of her column.

"Hullo, Europe"

The headquarters of this attractive, smartly dressed, vivacious Frenchwoman are a sumptuous flat in the Paris " west end." She goes everywhere and knows everybody in the political and diplomatic world. Much of her news is also obtained by evening telephone calls to her friends in various European capitals. Good-natured, impulsive and generous, Madame Tabouis is as popular with dictators as with democrats. They all find her an engaging listener.

Two Noses Better than One

As a commentator, Madame Tabouis writes directly for the *Oeuvre*, a Paris newspaper fluctuating on the left of radical-socialism. Occasionally she works hand in hand with *Pertinax* (André Géraud), the diplomatic correspondent of the *Echo de Paris*, whose conservatism is world-famous, and it is rare then that the two fox-terriers fail to bolt the rabbit. Their greatest *coup* recently was the unearthing of the Hoare-Laval plan for Abyssinia some days before it was officially made public. Another, still more recent, was the exposure of alleged German plans to land troops in Spanish Morocco.

Quai D'Orsay In-Laws

By marriage, Madame Tabouis is a member of a great French diplomatic family, the Cambons. Her uncles, Paul and Jules, were, before the war, ambassadors in London and Berlin respectively. Her cousin Roger has recently been acting as *chargé d'affaires* in London. Her life of Jules Cambon, which is having a considerable success in France, has now been translated and will shortly be published in England.

On her frequent visits to London, Madame Tabouis always makes a point of seeing her cousin at Albert Gate. Although her impetuousness is occasionally a little too much for his professional reserve, they are the best of friends.

Japan's Ex-Liberal Leader

It is odd to think that the Japanese nation, in their invasion of China, are being led by an ex-Liberal and student of Marx. Prince Fumimaro Konoe, who was unexpectedly called upon to form a government after the rigid General Hayashi had shown himself incapable, was a member of Prince Saionji's suite at the Versailles Peace Conference. Nobody paid much attention then to the slim young Asiatic who saw his ideals shattered before his eyes.

As a young man, Konoe imbibed the leading doctrines of the nineteenth century and became a convinced Liberal. He even ran away from the University of Kyoto in order to follow his master, Dr. Hajime Hawakami, the "Japanese Marx," who is now in prison for his defiance of the Samurai tradition.

Breaking in the Colt

Gradually the older statesman, Prince Saionji, who now at the age of 80 is the Mikado's supreme counsellor, stifled the visions of the young idealist. The visit to Versailles turned out, as intended, to be an important lesson in Konoe's conversion to realism.

Back to the Die-Hards

Shortly afterwards Konoe took up his hereditary seat in the House of Peers and was initiated into the secrets of Japanese imperialism. His outstanding abilities soon brought him to the public notice and won him election as President of the House. Now that he is in office,

the realisation that there is no way of muzzling the military has led him to abandon all trace of his earlier Liberalism. Solitary and retiring by disposition, he lives close to the Imperial Palace in Tokio and, although at times he may wonder whether war can ever pay, he is thoroughly determined to " humble " the Chinese.

Puritan's Daughter

Chiang Kai-shek's most ardent supporter and a sinew of the Chinese defence is his wife, formerly Mei-ling Soong. Her father started life as a poor emigrant in the United States. After renouncing Confucianism he became an enthusiastic Methodist and later, when wealth had accrued to him, he devoted a large part of it to the propagation of Christianity in China.

By this time he had acquired three daughters and a son, and one of his ambitions was to see the girls married off well. His wish was gratified. The eldest, Ai-Ling, became the wife of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, first President of the Chinese Republic ; the second, Ching-li, married the great financier Dr. Kung, who has just returned to China after discussing the silver question with Mr. Morgenthau in Washington ; the third daughter married the present Chinese dictator.

Taming a Dictator

Mei-ling is a woman of character as well as of devotion. She persuaded her husband to become a Christian and established a strictly teetotal regime in his household. But the home soon became too narrow for her reforming activities and she decided that the whole of Chinese social life needed a new tone.

To this end, she founded the " New Life Movement," based on a charter of eight capital virtues and seven deadly sins for women.

The virtues are : loyalty, filial piety, goodness, love, fidelity, uprightness, peacefulness and love of justice.

The sins are set out as follows : " Do not wear dresses which show off the figure ; never go into the street in pyjamas ; do not wear short skirts ; do not kiss ; do not drink ; never smoke, especially opium."

China's Mrs. Grundy

China became worse than any Britlington-on-Sea. The police carried large handkerchiefs to wipe the colour off brightly rouged

lips. The sexes were segregated to the opposite ends of beaches. Inspectors examined closely the wear on sale at the dressmakers. Frocks an inch too short were torn off girls' backs and burnt in the streets.

Mei-ling herself, smiling demurely at her puritan efforts, sits at home writing her husband's speeches for him and typing them out. She also acts as his interpreter with English or French visitors. And now the question arises whether this elegant little Chinese Mrs. Grundy will be able to boss the Japanese as she has her own country-women.

Friends of the Font

Heads of States like to become godfathers and Hitler is no exception to the rule. The number of his godchildren already exceeds 12,000.

The rules for the choice are very strict. Each child must be at least the seventh son of Aryan parents with an irreproachable heredity. No family can be honoured more than once.

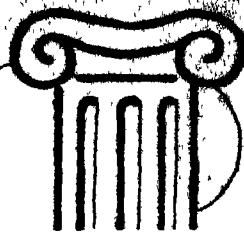
If the parents are poor, the child receives a present. In any case, the relationship is always certified by a letter, which the lucky recipient can frame when he is older.

But, for all his efforts, Hitler is still far from attaining the record set up by Hindenburg, who accepted religious responsibility for nearly 28,000.

Does He Exist?

Friends of mine who have spent their holidays in Germany tell me that complaints about certain aspects of the Nazi regime are more open than ever. According to the latest anecdote a monument has just been erected with the following inscription: *Dem unbekannten Zufriedenen* (To the unknown contented man).

IT COULDN'T HAPPEN TO US

According to the latest statistics, no less than 189 million dollars are lying as deposits in American banks without the owners bothering about them. Over 5,646,000 people have apparently completely forgotten their accounts. While the deposits are mostly small amounts down to a few cents, 65 people evidently do not realise that they have more than £6,250 at the bank, and 1,211 clients have forgotten deposits of £1,250 to £6,250.—*Berliner Tageblatt.*

THIS IS FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY
A Reawakening Coming

by GENEVIEVE TABOUIS

In this section we publish, without necessarily sharing the views they express, articles by men and women of international fame. Here the famous French woman diplomatic correspondent, Madame Tabouis, whose articles are quoted all over the world, writes an explanation and forecast of her country's foreign policy

PRESIDENT HERRIOT always claims that the people of France know no middle state between frivolity on the one hand and heroism on the other. "That is the reason," he adds, "why France always appears in times of peace to be much less strong than she really is, and why every now and again those who have no knowledge of this magnificent people feel like despairing of their future! But as soon as danger appears, the people of France show such audacity, powers of improvisation, and self-sacrifice that the recovery is complete: the country emerges victorious from the *mêlée!*"

So it was that well-informed persons in France were a little sceptical when the British Press recently stated that France intended in the coming months to adopt a policy of action, that she intended to revive the League of Nations, and that she would involve Great Britain herself in this policy. In fact, if the real truth is to be understood, it is necessary to realise that the French are still going through their period of frivolity. And since, in the last resort, in our magnificent democracies—at any rate in France—it is the people which governs, there are still many changes which must take place in our country before our foreign policy follows with any regularity the course ascribed to it a few days ago by the British Press. Unless, of course, Great Britain herself decides to adopt a strong policy: in that case France, with one accord, will cheerfully follow.

It would probably be necessary at the moment for France to go to the lengths of having a Communist Government, for a foreign policy to be adopted other than that practised by Delbos, whose policy consists—in spite of certain appearances—in conforming with extreme exactitude and in every circumstance to that of London.

Besides, such an attitude has certain profound reasons to justify it.

When Léon Blum took office, the foreign policy of France derived from the time of Laval. The great idea of the Popular Front Government, in order to try and reunite all Frenchmen in a common foreign policy, was to re-establish the *Entente Cordiale* and to accept any sacrifice to achieve that end. The idea of Blum's Government was that France for the time being should neglect any foreign policy of a kind to cause England the slightest anxiety, at the same time, of course, preserving the Russian alliance in the form which M. Blum considered would be acceptable to England.

M. Léon Blum thought that he would remain in power for a long time. Therefore, in his opinion, after the first period of new life in French foreign policy—which consisted in a life and death alliance with England with no *arrière pensée* on either side—there would follow a second period in which France, fortified by her alliance with London, would gradually be able to recover the ground she had lost in Europe, without causing anxiety in London, to the greatest advantage of the two countries. Such was M. Léon Blum's programme. Unfortunately he had only time to carry out the first part of it.

Passive France

About a year ago we saw France refusing to insist on King Carol's maintaining M. Titulesco in office ; refusing to make any definite statement concerning the assistance that she would render to Czechoslovakia in the event of aggression ; deliberately refusing to involve herself in a defensive alliance with Turkey, which would have ranged Rome against Paris and might have made it difficult for England to carry out her policy of a gentleman's agreement with Italy in the Mediterranean, a policy at which she has always aimed.

The Left in France, with its *idée fixe* of an alliance with England, accepted this French policy of inaction. Better still, the heads of the press department at the *Présidence du Conseil* and at the Foreign Office adopted a particularly harsh attitude with journalists who ventured to say that such sacrifices were deplorable.

THREE SHAPERS OF FRANCE'S FOREIGN POLICY

M Camille Chautemps, Prime Minister, M. Léon Blum, ex-Prime Minister, and now Minister without Portfolio, and M. Yvon Delbos, Foreign Minister

Meanwhile the war in Spain continued and in all the aberrations of the Quai d'Orsay's policy of non-intervention, it must be realised that the primary object of the Ministry was never to move a step ahead of England.

What is the real reason for all this ?

It is this : in spite of the agitation of the Left, and their strident demand for " guns and munitions for Spain," even for intervention, it is a fact that there is absolutely no one in France except for the Communist masses who is ready today to go through with all the imaginable consequences of an active foreign policy! All Mussolini's diplomatic skill, and all Hitler's, too, has consisted in persuading Europe that their two countries ask nothing better than immediate war (entirely untrue, at any rate in Hitler's case), because they knew very well that in France, at any rate, there was no one except the Communists and their chiefs ready to plunge into a war, and that all other classes of Frenchmen and all the statesmen, even those of the most advanced opinions, shrank from such a possibility.

Danger to the French Empire

And the reason for their shrinking is that Frenchmen, still at the moment in the " frivolous " stage, want two contradictory things simultaneously. They want to preserve the integrity of their Colonial Empire. But at the same time they refuse to agree to the slightest sacrifice for their ideal.

When M. Dupont or M. Durand calls out in a loud voice at a meeting : " The French Government knows very well that the country does not want to go to war. It should act accordingly! "—and when you reply : " Yes, certainly, but then, are you ready to give up Tunisia to Italy, Spanish Morocco to Germany and Indo-China to Japan ? "—M. Durand or M. Dupont at once becomes very serious and replies with some indignation : " Ah no, never that! " But, we repeat, the Frenchman is for the moment still in a frivolous mood and so long as the masses, and even some of the leaders, have not truly realised that Indo-China, Morocco, Tunisia, and perhaps even more, are demanded by our ancient enemies as pledges of our inaction, the position of the French Government, as far as its foreign policy is concerned, will remain extremely difficult. And a proof of this is the fact that, today, when the torpedo attacks in the Mediterranean have shown that even in times of peace France cannot count on her communications with Algeria and North Africa, the mass of the people, the business men, the bankers, and, of course, the aristocrats still refuse to grasp the situation.

But it would be idle to give way to despair, for the following reasons :

A slow but sure reawakening is taking place in France. When one compares the state of mind which prevails today at the *Comité Supérieur de la Défense Nationale*, at the *Comité méditerranéen*, with the state of mind which still animated certain personages at the head of the Army when, on the 9th of January, the *Echo de Paris* and the *Œuvre* published the substance of General Noguès's dispatch forecasting the landing of German soldiers in Morocco (a piece of news which "branded" the journalists responsible for this indiscretion as either suffering from hallucinations or looking for a quick turn on the Stock Exchange !), one has the right, indeed one ought, to hope for an improvement in the foreign policy of this country. One is inspired by the same feeling after attending the four last meetings of the Ministers, where one by one the most pusillanimous statesmen rose to demand new measures in several quarters! Thus, for example, immediately after the insurrection of Meknes, the Ministry of National Defence decided to send several thousand *gardes mobiles* to Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria, and to send the Minister for Colonies, M. Moutet, to Algeria for forty-eight hours for consultation with all the authorities of the three great provinces of French Africa. Today, then, the alert has been sounded in France. We must have a little patience to see the result.

Mussolini's Black Army

The latest news received from Ethiopia and Rome by the War Office and the Colonial Office has inspired a certain alarm. The black army which Mussolini had always intended to form is already a reality. From now on Mussolini would be able to hurl on French and English Somaliland, Kenya or the Sudan, between three and four hundred thousand black warriors with modern equipment, reinforced by Italian troops. In Ethiopia the Fascist organization for recruiting the black army appears likely to produce astonishing results. A year from now the black army of Italy will have doubled, if not more.

But, still more dangerous, in French opinion, than the material formation of such an army, is the *idea* which Rome has decided to make the basis of her entire policy of conquest in North Africa. "Fascist Africa" is to be Roman Africa, in which the provinces will not be colonies such as France has created in Morocco, Tunisia, and even in Algeria, but simply Italian provinces in Africa. In

them the Africans will have equal rights, and, in particular, wages equal to those customary on the Italian peninsula.

As support for this conception, Italy is going to open the famous University of Harrar, in Abyssinia, the greatest Italian propaganda organ in Northern Africa. To this university Italy is already inviting some young Moroccan, Algerian or Tunisian Muslims, to be educated there gratis. In the meantime, in Rome, all Italian citizens, from the *Balilla* to the nuns, are being taught to cherish the black Italian army which will conquer the whole of North Africa for the Peninsula!

The reason given is that a mobile army in North Africa might—if supported by good propaganda—be able to hold back all the French forces now stationed in the north of the Continent. Meanwhile, a European war would find France hard put to it to defend what amounts to four frontiers. It is evident that nobody in well-informed French circles takes all these Italian projects literally, or even all Italy's activities in Africa. But the fantastic *faits accomplis* brought about during the last few months by Italy and Germany in the Spanish war have taught leading French circles to consider the realities of the situation seriously. Thus it has been decided to create a command for an army capable of holding the Alpine frontier against the Italians in time of war.

The Reawakening

It is to be hoped that this reawakening on the part of French leaders will be followed by some kind of livening up in the mass of public opinion, which is still mostly led astray by the Press.

The reason for the attitude of this Press—which seems in France to insist on campaigning against French interests—is to be found in the desire not to slide into Communism by making a bad mistake, and to resist the foreign policy which Moscow, with great wisdom, would like to see France follow.

But it is certain that, a few months hence, the French Government which will be in power will be able, if it wishes, to reveal the grave reality of the moment to the French public. It will be supported by the majority of the Press, as the truth cannot be masked for very long, and, unfortunately—one must recognise it—France's external situation is as tragic as that of all great Empires whose might rests on very distant possessions.

Although responsible Frenchmen—particularly since information about the imminence of an Italo-Japanese treaty came to hand—realise the extent of the Far-Eastern drama, the Quai d'Orsay does not see what can be done—and it is right. One thing alone can be done. China can be supplied with arms and materials.

In consequence, during the next six months, the English man-in-the-street must expect to see France following to the letter whatever policy the Prime Minister of England sees fit to pursue. But, France has grasped the situation, she is pulling herself together, reorganising herself, and, some time in the future, she will be able to act. The only thing which the men of the Left—in every country—have the right to demand of France, here and now, is the preservation intact of that Franco-Russian alliance which truly appears to be for the whole world—whatever individual opinions may be—the last bulwark of peace.

Had Tukhatchevsky Succeeded

Imagine, for instance, for one second, if the Tukhatchevsky plot against Stalin had succeeded, and if Germany could count today at the very least on Russia's passivity and on her economic support, is there anyone who would maintain that war would not already have been let loose on the world ?

The Quai d'Orsay's archives contain a number of proofs in this connection, in dispatches from different sources. Hitler had decided to risk a general war last spring. That was why he plunged into the war in Spain, in order to secure control of the Mediterranean (as indeed he does, with Mussolini, control it today), but he was counting on two factors which, at the last minute, failed him : first, the fall of Stalin and the arrival of Tukhatchevsky at the head of affairs in Russia ; and, second, the revolution in France. He was sure of the first factor, and uncertain of the second. Both failed him. But Mussolini, according to information in the hands of leading French circles, believes the hour propitious nevertheless, and wants to persuade Hitler that he ought to support him in risking a conflagration. That is why, knowing what we have said above, and realising exactly the state of mind of France, one is forced to think that the rulers of France will not be able to change their foreign policy for some months to come. Unless England . . . . .

NYON LIGHTS

It appears that, according to the Nyon Agreement, only those submarines are to be counter-attacked whose methods of sinking merchantmen are not in accordance with the rules laid down in the Submarine Protocol of 1936

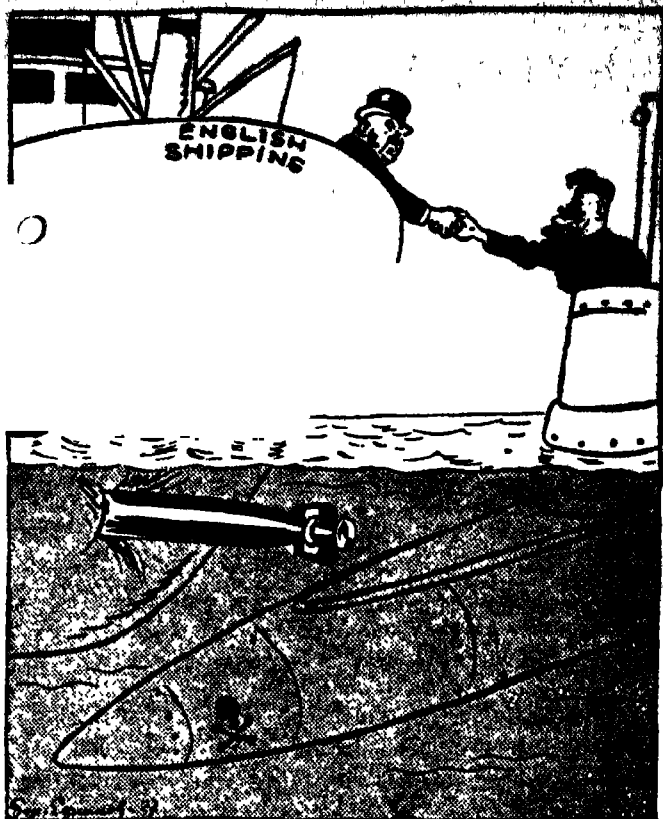
Prior to the Nyon Pact,
Pirates at will attacked,
Submarine sallies lacked
    Clarification ;
Experts with eager speed
On a new code agreed ;
Pirates will now proceed
    By regulation.

Cruisers with armoured scowl,
Ceaselessly on the prowl,
Gather to spot a foul,
    As per directions ;
Pirates, although they fly
Flags of State-piracy,
Must with the rules comply,
    And the sub-sections.

Nyon control maintains
Safety in shipping lanes,
Raids on all ships, but Spain's,
    Will be regretted.
Pirates are cautioned to
Save, besides logs and crew,
Naval observers who
    Must not be wetted.

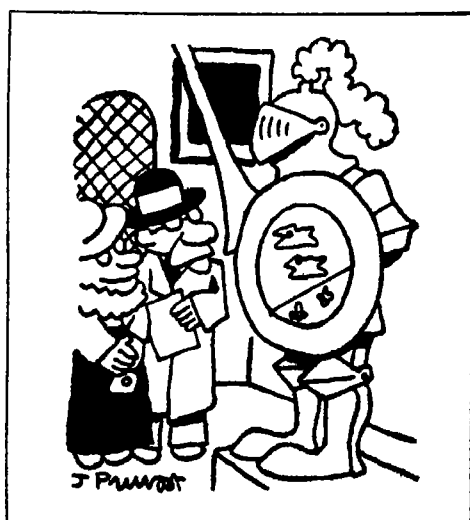
Sinking by Protocol,
Watched by an armed patrol,
Need not upon the whole
    Cause fresh dissension.
Powers and their satellites,
Clearing up pirates' rights,
Raise to yet loftier heights,
    Non-intervention.

REYNARD.

A PAGE ON PIRATES

"Ivestia," Moscow

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

"You have murdered your whole family, destroyed the furniture and set fire to the house . . . what have you to say for yourself?"

"I claim belligerent rights."

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris.

THE SUBMARINE WAR

"What's that?"

"It must be a bathing costume for the Mediterranean."

A MEDITERRANEAN PROPOSAL

Malta as an International Base

by MICHAEL LANGLEY

The writer of this article, who has spent much of the past year in Malta, has come into contact with many whose views as to the future of the island differ considerably from those held even so recently as five years ago when the situation in the Mediterranean was comparatively stable. Most interesting of these is the suggestion that the naval base should be internationalised and provide a centre for those powers participating in the Franco-British plan or for any who join in an extension of that scheme

ALONG the entire length of the Mediterranean there is no zone of more critical significance than the central bottleneck where the southern shores of Sicily confront the north coast of Africa and shipping is bound to converge on a narrow channel overlooked to the east by Malta and dominated at its western entrance by Pantellaria. It is not that any submarines operating in Franco's interests have attacked or are ever likely to attack merchant vessels in this area. The pirate knows that while he may be given a run for his money over the lonelier stretches of the Mediterranean he will find a yard-arm awaiting him at its cross-roads

That at least is true so long as the fullest co-operation can be maintained for the preservation of international law and the freedom of the seas, and always providing that the outlaw is not granted sanctuary by any interested party. How these conditions can be fulfilled and the necessary safeguards be taken is a matter of pressing importance today. In the view of the writer, the most certain check against outlawry in the Mediterranean would be to put the new Franco-British plan on a permanent basis by internationalising the facilities afforded by the naval base of Malta.

Lying at the apex of a triangle linking Corsica, Corfu and Malta, envisaged by Napoleon as three essential control points in the Mediterranean, this island has been under British administration since 1800. " I would rather see my enemies on the heights of Montmartre than in Malta," said the Emperor, obsessed by that recurring desire

among potentates along these shores to turn the Mediterranean into an enclosed imperial lake. It was Britain who took most credit for preventing Napoleon from gaining that monopoly he so much desired. It was Britain who, throughout the last century, kept this sea open and free to all comers including the once refractory French. With the temporary dislocation of effective League machinery for dealing with the situation it is Britain who has again taken the lead and is helping to place on a sound footing the security of this international trade route.

It would be idle to think that this can be done in any enduring manner without the united effort of all Mediterranean Powers. The way should be open for the participation of all ; a focus point should be established which would provide a common meeting ground for the naval forces of Britain, France, Italy, U.S.S.R., Turkey, Yugoslavia, Greece—whoever wished to co-operate.

Nor does this suggestion offer any great practical difficulties. Malta at present is under Crown Colony government. As an international base a mandatory administration would probably obtain pending the re-emergence of representative institutions which lapsed in 1931. For every ten pounds that passes through the hands of a population of 250,000 nine is derived directly or indirectly from the Navy, Army and other services supported by the British taxpayer. Any increase in the local income from international sources would not be sniffed at by the Maltese. Besides, it would be a basis for the provision of grants to emigrants; the present density per square mile in Malta touching the very high figure of 2,400.

The Island is Vulnerable

In the present circumstances in the Mediterranean the island is, moreover, frequently left without any warships in the Grand Harbour, in the Marsamuscetto on the north-west side of the Valletta peninsular, or in the great potential seaplane base of two and a half square miles of water at Marsaxlokk. Vulnerable to a degree, the island and its position have been a cause of grave anxiety to everyone realising the ease with which a combined sea and air attack could be made, say, from Syracuse. In the opinion of many Maltese it is only the strength and resources of Britain which in recent years have restrained the Fascist Government from their early declared ambition to annex

Malta and so gain control of a base which, with Pantellaria, would command both entrances to the central bottleneck of the Mediterranean.

The overwhelming advantage of a scheme to internationalise Malta would be that it would place control of that narrow zone between Sicily and the north coast of Africa not in the hands of any single power, not in the hands of Britain alone, whose interests in the east Mediterranean demand her close attention, but it would invest the safety of this vital area in the armed force of all. Dutch ships bound for Java, smart German cargo vessels of the Deutsche Levante Line, Khedivial Mail boats sailing since the first week in August under the Egyptian flag, ubiquitous Greek tramps and the shipping of Yugoslavia, Turkey, Bulgaria and Rumania pass to and fro between Malta and Pantellaria. They have their interests to serve no less than the excellent boats of the Italian lines, no less than the P. & O., the British India and the Australian Commonwealth shipping. The Mediterranean issue can never be " a life and death struggle between the British and Italians " as one American writer said at the time of the Italo-Abyssinian war. It is not a fight for supremacy that will go on " to a show-down one way or the other." So far from being two-sided it is a multi-sided question and would gain fuller recognition as such with the conversion of Malta into a base from which all interested countries would be able to patrol and police the Mediterranean.

Worked out in detail and operating, perhaps with a view to permanence, an international svstem at Malta would undoubtedly be a bold experiment in wide-scale naval co-operation. But it has an interesting precedent, curiously enough associated with Malta itself. For it was from this island, held by the Knights of St. John from 1530 until 1798, that the Order, financed and recruited from Spain, Italy, France, England and Bavaria, checked the incursions into Europe of the Turk and acted as a stabilising influence in the Middle Sea.

HUMOUR IN THE THIRD REICH

" The most precious and peculiar possession of our people is the ineradicable love of the German for personal freedom."

'Saying for the day'—*Berliner 8-Uhr Abendblatt.*

THE FASCIST SIDE

PEACE IN SPAIN

by OWEN B. MCGUIRE

From " The Commonweal " (Catholic Organ), New York

PEACE has been established in the greater part of Spain. Peace will soon be established in the other parts of Spain. On the establishment of peace there will follow a reasonably short military dictatorship to be succeeded by a truly democratic form of government which will be in accordance with the psychology of the Spanish people and with their native political traditions. To show my reasons for these statements is the purpose of this article.

From the dispatches in the daily Press, even from the hitherto lying and deceptive reports from Madrid and Valencia, it is apparent that the Civil War is nearing a decisive phase. The British Minister of Foreign Affairs has, in fact, practically declared this in the Commons ; and his political behaviour for the past two weeks makes manifest his conviction. Accordingly, various projects from various

angles are now proposed for making peace. Some of these proposals are put forth by sentimentalists ; but most of them, as will be seen by any person capable of reading between the lines, come from those who, having hitherto supported the barbarities and anarchy of the " legitimate and democratic government " now want to save their own face and to open an easy way out for their criminal protégées.

I leave for Spain in a few days. Two months ago when I was planning the journey I wrote for information to a highly placed official of the British administration at Gibraltar. (I will land at Gibraltar.) He wrote me : " I can answer your queries authentically, for I have just returned from a trip through White Spain, as we call it, including your old winter-quarters, Cadiz, Jerez, Seville, Malaga. With a military permit, which is easily obtained for a responsible person, travel is safe and easy. Living is cheap and there is abundance of food. In fact, there is prosperity. What will seem more incredible to you : the people are gay and happy. In Seville you will find life pleasanter, more peaceful and less preoccupied than when you were there during the Azaña regime. Even in Malaga, where they suffered horribly, it is the same. Police duty is done by volunteers, and not much of it is necessary. The explanation is that the people feel they have been delivered from the agonies of a horrible nightmare. Of course one must consider also the astonishing native resiliency of the Spanish people."

The Testimony of Witnesses

If that were the testimony of one person, it might be doubted. But it cannot be doubted. It is the testimony of a host of correspondents and independent witnesses who have been over the ground. (I am referring especially to what has been published in the English Press, Catholic and secular.) Among them are such journalists as Francis McCullagh and Randolph Churchill, eminent writers like Arthur Bryant and Major Geoffrey Moss. Several others, who are not writers by profession but are well known in the public life of England, one of them a Major-General, have gone down to see for themselves and have returned to tell the same story. It is the testimony of the whole British colony at Gibraltar who have direct information from that part of Spain.

In view of the established and undeniable fact that peace reigns

in nearly two-thirds of Spain, I contend that by the same means peace can and will be established throughout Spain.

When the Valencia junta has fallen, what has happened in the greater part of Spain will be repeated in the other parts, and that within a reasonably short time. That is my conviction. Considering the long fight put up by the Marxist combination and the character of its various elements, this may seem incredible. But it will appear incredible only to those who do not understand Spain, especially if they have not been able to follow the events of the past dozen years, to follow them daily as they occurred and in their logical sequence. To form a correct judgment it would also be necessary to know just what these various Marxist parties are, and what their numerical strength when they are not at liberty to press all the other workers

THE VATICAN AT THE CROSSROADS

"If we only knew who was going to win!"

"Kladderadatsch," Berlin.

into their associations at the point of a gun. The masses of the Spanish people are not very different in that territory from those in the territory already won by the Nationalists. In an article like this there is not space to set out adequately the reasons for the conviction I have expressed above ; but I can indicate some of them.

(1) After Barcelona, the most Radical and Communistic cities in Spain were Seville and Malaga. There is peace and order in these two cities now, and in all the territory west and north up to Bilbao. Why should it be impossible to believe that peace can be established in the rest of Spain by the same means ? It should be remembered that in all the towns and villages through which the small army of Franco had advanced from Algeciras on the sea up to the gates of Madrid, these gunmen had been in control for six months, had terrorised the population and had perpetrated atrocities of murder and arson even worse than those in Barcelona and Madrid. Yet when the army had passed through, there was peace and order ; and peace and order have continued there ever since.

You may ask : How is that possible ? Well, suppose the gangsters and Communists have been allowed here in New York State to arm themselves for six months. Suppose that the Governor orders the police, the State troopers and the militia to remain in their barracks and not to interfere with " the popular demonstrations." Suppose the members of the trade unions are forced at the point of a gun to join up with them or get shot. Suppose that the militia and State troopers rise up to put a stop to this anarchy ; and then suppose the Governor to open the doors at Sing Sing and all the other State prisons, and that arms are handed out to " the people " who go marching after a Red flag, crying, " Viva Russia," " Up the Revolution," " Down with the United States," " Up Lenin," " Down with Roosevelt," " Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." They sing the Internationale, and woe to anyone who starts " The Star-Spangled Banner."

While such people are in control, how many of them will it take to terrorise a village or town of 5,000 population here in New York State ? And what will be the feelings of that population after the militia has cleared them out of the town ? And will the attitude of the same population be in all cases determined by their attitude at the ballot box two years before ?

(2) In 1923, the country was on the verge of chaos, especially in Catalonia. Then the Dictator assumed power. For at least three years he was immensely popular. I was there and saw it. His journey from Barcelona to Madrid to meet the King was a triumphal march. The towns along the way turned out *en masse* to greet him. During his six years there was not a single execution for political reasons or for attempted insurrection. There was press censorship ; but only one newspaper was suppressed and that one only for three days and for cause stated. The war in Africa had been a nightmare for the people for a generation, and they hailed him as their deliverer. The Socialist party co-operated with him, and Caballero, the most radical of its leaders, became a Privy Councillor. The Communists and Anarchists remained quiet.

The vast majority of the people who are still subject to the Valencia junta are now praying to be delivered from a worse nightmare and will hail their deliverers. They have done it already wherever Franco's arms have triumphed, even in Bilbao. It will be so also in Catalonia ; but I will come to that later.

Church Burning

(3) In May, 1931, when these elements began to burn churches and convents, and when Azaña declared that " all the convents in Spain were not worth the life of one Republican," Maura, Minister of the Interior, resigned ; and when the Cabinet begged him to return, he did so only on two conditions—to which Azaña also consented—that " he could, without consulting the Cabinet, put the armed Civil Guard in the street, and call out the military if necessary." It was not necessary. Within thirty-six hours the arson had stopped all over Spain even in Malaga and Alicante where it was worst. A noted Spanish writer, known also in this country, assured me afterward at Madrid that the Communists and Anarchists had made preparations to fire all the houses on the Castellana—the chief residence avenue and the most beautiful in the city—on the night after Maura had called out the Civil Guard. When I went later to Alicante, one of the cities that had suffered most, I called on a member of the Lerroux party, a lifelong Republican whom I had known in another city and who now held a responsible position in the Government. Pointing to a ruined church across the street, he said : " The

whole thing could have been prevented by putting a score of the Civil Guard in the street." "And why was it not done?" I asked. "The Civil Governor," he answered, "had given an order for them to remain in their barracks and not to interfere with the popular celebrations."

It may be objected that conditions are now different and that Catalonia, La Vascongada and Madrid offer special obstacles to establishing peace. The conditions are different. But they are also very different from what Red propaganda (and Pink)—to which a great part of our daily Press has succumbed—has represented them. With these special difficulties I will, perhaps, deal in another article. For the present it should be remembered: (*a*) That the real numerical strength of these Marxists associations has been greatly exaggerated; at least half of those who have been forced to join up with them will hail the deliverer when they have a chance to do so. (*b*) The war would have ended last December, if it had not been for the aid given by France and Russia. (*c*) There are millions who, for one reason or another, voted for the Popular Front last year but now regret it. They would never have voted for such anarchy as existed in Spain, even for the five months that preceded the war. When peace is restored these people will be more conservative than ever. They have learned that if you sup with the devil you need a very long spoon.

HOME FOR GIPSIES?

Signor Mussolini is reported to have offered to allow Gipsy tribes roaming Europe to make a home in Abyssinia Januz Kwek, styled King of the Gipsies, with "court" in Hungary is said to be in contact with the Duce and to have considered putting the gipsies' case before the League of Nations The spread of political totalitarianism in central and south-eastern Europe has proved unpopular to the gipsy to whom enforced discipline is anathema, and one may strongly doubt whether Mussolini has actually offered Abyssinia as a "national home" for the alleged descendants of Ishmael Are we to conclude that it is difficult to persuade Italians to colonise Abyssinia and thus necessary to bring in the gipsies who, heaven knows, have never shown a penchant for colonisation.

The English gipsies have been "warned off" Epsom Downs—but the tribe of caravanning poachers and palmists are not likely to pitch their camp at Addis Ababa even if Marshal Graziani does institute an Abyssinian Derby! Besides, as fortune-tellers "par excellence," the gipsy crones may well see "an angry dark man" in the cards of the Italian troops and even Radio Bari's propaganda fades in effect before that of a clever Romany fortune-teller.—*Malta Chronicle.*

ENGLAND—VILLAIN AND VICTOR

From "Frente Libertario," Madrid

Which Power will gain the greatest advantage from the Spanish tragedy? For this Left organ England is favourite

THE tactics employed by perfidious Albion have always been to confuse international issues, like the cuttlefish squirting its ink in the surrounding waters, in order to conceal the plans she has made for her own advantage. Thanks to this double game, England has succeeded in extending her tentacles to the four quarters of the globe. There is no single apparently noble action performed by this great democracy which does not conceal an ulterior purpose, which is not fundamentally bound up with some utilitarian aim coldly and deliberately worked out with diabolical secrecy and subtlety. It is true that in 1914 England hurled herself blindly against Germany with all the appearance of noble indignation as soon as Germany set foot on Belgian soil; but she certainly did not do so to defend a Belgium violated by brutal invasion, but in order to strike down her great rival Germany and to remain sole mistress of German trade.

In the particular case of Spain there are other material reasons enough for democracies of the English sort to be able, without great compulsion and without any democratic scruples, to remain shivering on the non-intervention brink, even though that means that the most elementary principles of human justice are being trampled on.

The chief of these reasons is the fact that the fascist rebellion, by a natural reaction, had the merit of stirring up a revolution which lay dormant in the conscience of the people, a revolution which should deal a death-blow to everything which smells of the private interests and prerogatives of the capitalist world. For this reason, apart from the numerous interests which these democracies have possessed on Spanish soil, it is easy to understand why they aim only at emerging unscathed themselves from the Spanish Revolution, even if the safeguarding of these interests cause the total extermination of the Iberian people.

But that is not all. That would be too simple a game. The result would be too glaringly obvious, and English diplomacy never plays with only one card in its hand.

Indeed, if her intention had been merely to safeguard her own interests on Spanish soil, she would have ranged herself from the very beginning openly on the side of the military rebels, thus preventing the fascist invasion. The device of non-intervention, like its corollary, the control of the Spanish coast, is nothing but a practical formula for diplomatic intervention in favour of one or other of the combatants as soon as the fortune of war declares itself, with the aim of balancing the forces of both parties in order that they may become equally exhausted and neither emerge victorious. England acts as one having every interest in proposing an armistice, knowing well that neither of the belligerents will accept it, and in this manner deceives world opinion in order that her game may not be exposed, the game of prolonging the present state of affairs until both sides are completely exhausted. England knows also that Italian and German fascism will play their part until the last cartridge is fired, urged on by their ambition for power, and that self-respect will prevent the people of Spain from accepting, now or ever, any mediation.

Therefore the blow-hot, blow-cold tactics of England and the democracies which follow her open a loop-hole to German-Italian invasion, but only to an extent which will not involve her in a world war, which she fears because she cannot foresee its consequences.

Greed on all sides

England and the democracies know well enough that Hitler and Mussolini intend to gain possession of the great mineral riches which their countries need : iron, mercury, tin, coal, antimony, zinc, lead, lignite, potassium, pyrites, etc., riches which Spain possesses in abundance. This mineral wealth is coveted by London and Paris no less than by Berlin and Rome ; for London and Paris yield to no one in greed, though with them it assumes a different aspect. Therefore, apart from the question of precious raw materials, the cause of Franco and of all his gang is not worth a fig to anybody, certainly not to Germany and Italy.

If, from the very beginning, England and France had made their voice heard in a resolute manner by these two crazy Cæsars of the

European carnival, the Civil War and the invasion would have been already over. The world would be now living in tranquillity without the nightmare of uncertainty under which it is at present suffering. It is well known that France is a formidable power from the military point of view, and that England disposes of more than abundant armaments to put an end to the braggadocio of those who aim at frightening anyone who allows himself to be frightened. Experience has taught us that in modern wars there can be no victors and that belligerents sacrifice everything to gain less than they lose through the contest. For that reason England pretends to be asleep, not omitting to show a certain timidity towards Rome and Berlin, nor forgetting to observe very attentively that fascist finance is rushing precipitously towards the abyss. At the same time she does not disdain to offer sops to the dictators and invitations to conferences, knowing that in the end they will have to ask for loans and that they will be forced to have recourse to her. And this is where she shows her other card. When that moment arrives it will be profitable to catch the two lions of Europe converted into humble little fishes, ready to nibble at the bait. And in this manner England hopes to recover her dominion in the Mediterranean, to force Italy to grant certain concessions in Abyssinia with the aim of bettering the position of England in Egypt, and to extract other less important advantages.

Hope from the World Proletariat

So the victor will be England . . . if the Spanish people, with the help of the proletariat throughout the world, does not decide to act on its own account, and to send to the devil the whole gang of intriguing, frivolous cynics who depend on the most horrible tragedy that humanity has ever seen, a tragedy so cunningly prepared by these same democracies. The only vulnerable point which has not been provided for by these jackals and which is destined to give them the surprise of their lives is this : the international proletariat may range itself in a decisive manner on the side of the Spanish people in order to put an end to the criminal manœuvres of those who traffic in the generous blood of Spain. Thus, and thus only, can salvation come, and with it the liberation of all the free peoples of the world, from declared despots and from the democracies who intrigue under the ægis of that accursed international association in crime, the League of Nations.

"Haagsche Post," The Hague.

THE MASK IS OFF

PIRATES OF THE MIDDLE SEA

THE TIME HAS COME

by ALEXEI TOLSTOI

(famous Russian author)

From " Moscow Daily News "

The epidemic of piracy in the Mediterranean, which led to the Nyon Agreement for control, brought some violent threats of retribution on Italy from Moscow. Here are some typical extracts, with a German counter-accusation

THE time of pompous conferences, elegant assemblies and sundry committees, the time of the ostrich policy of France and England should end.

The flag of piracy has been openly unfurled in the Mediterranean. France is cut off from North Africa, England from the Suez Canal. The fascist programme has been made public. They want to divide Europe between the Second Roman and Third German empires, including therein England, of course, as a former Roman colony.

The final bell. The tamer must seize the whip and enter into the cages of the jackals. This is the task of all those who cherish peace, who think over the fortunes of mankind.

Ours is a serious people, a people which treats its historic tasks seriously. What we have decided upon we shall carry out, whatever the obstacles in our way. To the reports on the sinking of our ships we will give such an answer, that it will be too late for Mussolini to admit his errors. Our means and our forces are inexhaustible. Of course, it is more pleasant to build universities and sports grounds than to build warships. But world fascism has compelled us to build a great Soviet navy. The Soviet Navy will be the most powerful in the world. This is just as true as the fact that in ten years we have overtaken and surpassed the heavy industry of Europe.

And not herein is the miracle, but in that at the same time we continue building universities and stadiums. We will not divide our forces, but redouble them. Our task is to compel the world to follow a road away from imperialist war. And this is possible only if we shall become stronger than the whole of the imperialist world. This

task is feasible, realistic, and we are close to it. It is essential that it be hammered in the consciousness of everyone of us : we are living in a terrible and great time, from each of us is demanded, and will be demanded, the Stakhanovite ability of organising one's strength.

A SOUND THRASHING

From " Trud," Moscow, organ of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions

MILLIONS of toilers of the great Land of Soviets express profound indignation over the heinous crimes of the fascist pirates. The brigands operating in the Mediterranean have sunk the peaceful Soviet motorship *Timiryazev* which was sailing with a cargo of coal from England to Port Said, in Egypt. According to latest information, the pirates have also sunk another Soviet vessel, the steamer *Blagoyev.*

The whole world knows that the " unknown " submarines engaging in piracy are Italian submarines, and that the " unknown " pirates in the Mediterranean are Italian fascists, whose leader stops at no dastardly and barbaric crimes.

The sinking of the Soviet ships by fascist bandits is a provocatory challenge to the Soviet Union, which firmly and consistently champions the policy of universal peace.

The fascist warmongers are playing with fire. The mighty Soviet people of 170 millions, united around its Party and Government, possessing a powerful Red Army, Red Navy and Red Air Fleet, will not tolerate them. The Soviet Government, carrying out the unanimous will of the peoples, will give the arrogant fascist pirates a sound thrashing.

THE RED MISCHIEFMAKER

by DR. KARL SILEX (*Editor*)

From the " Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," 12.9.37

LITVINOFF makes use of every opportunity for creating disturbance in Europe. Even whilst the preliminary negotiations for the Mediterranean Conference were in progress he started a quarrel with Italy.

It has been proved how right Germany and Italy were to refuse to take part in the Nyon Conference before this provocative action of Moscow was cleared out of the way. The very first day showed that it was a childish mistake on the part of the English to believe in the possibility of keeping this Conference free from politics. England should have realised that it would not be possible to limit discussions to naval technicalities. For Soviet Russia had right from the beginning only regarded the Conference as an opportunity for fresh attempts at disturbance.

There are signs that after all, other countries are gradually seeing through Moscow's game. Litvinoff himself bears a large portion of the responsibility which Bolshevism has taken on itself. In his great speech at Nurnberg Dr. Goebbels gave exhaustive details of Moscow's guilt in the Spanish tragedy. The list of Bolshevik crimes in Spain began long before General Franco's National rising. It is being lengthened daily, by some people through murders, by others at the green table of international conferences.

Bolsheviks to blame

The Bolshevik attacks on the *Deutschland* and the *Leipzig*, on the English warships *Hunter* and *Havock*, the smuggling of arms to Valencia and Barcelona and all the crimes committed against the Spanish people still, unfortunately, do not seem to have shaken the conscience of the world enough. For how otherwise were it possible for one of the chief outragers of the Spanish people to make such a speech as at Nyon in the midst of representatives of civilised nations ? How were it otherwise possible for the League of Nations to allow itself to be presided over by a Negrin, whose " government " is participating in the Bolshevik outraging of the Spanish people ? We fail to understand such tolerance.

In order to divide the Mediterranean into zones, England and France had no need to sit at another conference table with Litvinoff. This division into zones, furthermore, indicates that it is not the security of legitimate shipping to Spanish ports which is at stake, but Mediterranean power problems.

We would point out a further danger. The Powers already have experience of sea control behind them. This sea control has only had one result. It was used by the Bolsheviks to destroy agreement

between the Powers, by attacks on warships carrying out an international duty. If now patrols are instituted, not only round Spain, but throughout the Mediterranean, the sphere of attack for the Bolshevik aggressor will be very much greater. For Soviet Russia is evidently aiming at demonstrating to England the alleged endangerment of the sea route to India. Whilst Litvinoff was thundering at the Lake of Geneva against piracy, orders were probably being given in other Red quarters to bring about fresh incidents.

A MILITARY PEOPLE

by ANGELO GATTI

From "Il Popolo d'Italia," Milan

Praise for the Italian legionaries and their generals filled the Italian Press after the fall of Santander to General Franco's forces

THE victory of Santander, after those of Malaga, and Bilbao and the glorious battle of Guadalajara ; the war in Spain after that in Abyssinia ; they all show that the mother country is conserving intact her power of offence and defence, and clearly prove that Italy is a military country.

But anyone who tried to maintain this fact in the years preceding the World War, or in the years from 1919 to 1921, would have seen a smile of compassion on the face of his listeners. The common opinion was that Italy was the anti-militarist country *par excellence*, because the Italians are supreme individualists, rebels against any kind of discipline, or order. In reality, the nature of the Italian people is rich enough, and their vitality intense enough, to permit them to have at one and the same time a rebel intelligence and a disciplined character, and to allow the one or the other to prevail according to requirements. A splendid proof of this can be seen in the Garibaldi era, in which the most liberty-loving men obeyed fanatically and adored to the death.

But the military character of the Italians would not have been revealed so quickly and fully, on account of the confused and tormented manifestations of their intelligence, if Benito Mussolini had not had two clear conceptions : that our times are soldiers' times ; and that the Italians *are* soldiers.

A military people are those who live in peace, contented with peace ; but so disciplined in arms that they are ready, rapidly and easily, to fulfil the duties of war. They do not love war for war's sake, or prefer the sword to the spade, but they are always prepared to fight, and to seize the sword with the same vigour as the spade. Their mode of feeling and thinking is ordered and disciplined ; they have an austere conception of life, unadorned, often hard, they love life, but are ready to renounce it for a greater good—the life and fortune of all. In action they are united and ready to sacrifice. Deeply religious, a military people believe in something and someone higher and greater than themselves, be it in heaven or on earth, and they are, in battle, splendidly warlike. A military people, to sum up, possess tranquillity, order, reflection, tenacity. The Romans are the most famous example of a military people, and the Italians are a military people.

A *warlike* people, on the other hand, love war for its own sake. . . . The Gauls were, in ancient history the best example of a warlike people ; today, many of their characteristics have passed, with the modifications imposed by almost twenty centuries, to the French. Listen to their National Anthem, "*Allons, enfants de la patrie, le jour de gloire est arrivé.*" Look at their flags and medals : "*Honneur et patrie.*" These, honour and country, are for them great ideals, beyond sorrow and death—glory, honour ; also pride. For that reason the sceptical, joking Frenchman of the city or back lines changes into the brave soldier of the trenches ; but by way of how many fraternal disputes, how many insults, how much hard work, how much waste of immediate effect.

HAND-TO-HAND

Desperate hand-to-hand fighting on a mountain 4,000 feet high is described in a Japanese communiqué issued here. The rival forces got within fifty yards of each other.—*Daily Telegraph.*

YOU'VE SAID IT

What we object to about Government control is that it means freedom to those who are doing the controlling.—*Osaka Mainichi.*

TROUBLE IN ETHIOPIA
The Aftermath of Conquest

by LADISLAS FARAGO

(*Author of " Abyssinia on the Eve "*)

From " South Pacific Mail," Valparaiso, Chile

ITALY will probably be forced to abandon Ethiopia. That is the opinion of impartial French observers here in Djibouti.

Ethiopia is a completely closed country. No journalist or traveller who is not a Fascist or on official business may cross the frontier. There are three principal reasons for this exclusion of foreigners : first, the country is in a state of chaos ; secondly, the country is far less safe for white travellers than ever it was in the days of Menelik or Haile Selassie ; thirdly, famine is widespread.

Italy claims that Ethiopia has been conquered. That is not true. The Italians control the towns and the areas around the towns. The rest of the country is uncontrolled. Only 20 miles from Dessye, a strong Ethiopian force commands the main road from Asmara to Addis Ababa. No Italian vehicle can pass.

All over the country bands of native irregulars, sometimes only 50 strong, are harassing the Italians. The " conquerors " can move only in large forces, accompanied by tanks and armoured cars, through country previously reconnoitred by airplanes. I learn from a well-informed source that more Italians have been killed since the war officially ended than were killed during the war itself.

* * *

New troops are constantly arriving in Ethiopia. These reinforcements consist mostly of older men. As the roads from Eritrea and Italian Somaliland are unsafe, these troops must pass through French Somaliland. The French Government has refused permission for troops to pass through. The Italians therefore describe their reinforcements as " labourers." They arrive in Djibouti armed with spades and picks. Once in Ethiopia, these spades and picks are replaced by rifles.

I saw an Italian troopship arrive in Djibouti with insufficient spades for the " labourers " on board. An officer came ashore and

began frantically to buy spades. The price soared immediately. After half an hour, a rusty, almost useless garden spade was worth a fabulous sum.

Each troopship brings about 1,500 fresh Italian troops. They are immediately put on board a train for the interior. The Italian "conquerors" are packed in cattle cars, 40 men in each. An Ethiopian in Douanle exclaimed to me: "Even camels are better provided for."

The railway is taxed to capacity with the transport of these troops. Goods and stores cannot be carried. On the docks are thousands of carloads of stores waiting for trains to take them to Ethiopia. An official of the railway in Djibouti told me it would take eight months to transport these stores. They consist largely of perishable goods. By that time they will be useless.

The Italians are feverishly building an auto-highway from Assab, but the work is progressing very slowly. It is to be a 30-foot concrete road, 225 miles long, across the Danakil Desert. At present, only seven and one-half miles have been built, at a cost of over $84,000 (£16,800) a mile.

Famine Rampant

Ethiopia is shut off from the outside world, and famine is sweeping the country. For two years during the war, the crops were neglected. For two years, most of them were left to rot. The peasants refuse to work in the regions occupied by the Italians. They are afraid to bring their products to the markets in the towns. A small expedition was sent out from Addis Ababa to requisition foodstuffs. It was attacked and annihilated. Not a man returned to Addis Ababa.

The prices of foodstuffs are soaring. They are already higher than in Italy, and are rising daily. Italian agents are frantically buying foodstuffs in all the Red Sea countries. Hundreds of sailboats bring food to Italian harbours. There it lies rotting. There is no transport available to take it to the interior.

Italian troops who have been relieved return to Italy via Djibouti. They arrive in cattle cars, thin-faced, sunken-eyed, unshaved. Outside the station, natives are waiting with bread and vegetables. The food is snatched from their hands by the Italians, who admit that they have been short of food for weeks.

Even the natives in Ethiopia have little to eat. Already they are dying by the thousands from starvation. In the towns, they eat rats and any offal they can find. The markets are either deserted or the prices are too high for them. Only a few can pay the exorbitant prices demanded for food.

Driven to desperation by hunger, the natives are forming small bands to attack caravans. Sometimes they even break into the homes of Europeans in search of food. Italians often join these looting bands to snatch a little food in excess of the paltry rations. The Italian authorities seem powerless to stop them.

The official currency of Ethiopia is now the lira, but the natives refuse to deal in lire. They use only the Maria Theresa dollars, which the Italians have forbidden. The banks refuse to change them. There is a complete deadlock, and trade is at a standstill.

The peasants who still have foodstuffs to sell and would be willing to come to market, steadfastly refuse to sell their goods for lire. They hide their food in underground caches where the Italians cannot find it.

In spite of all official denials and communiqués, one thing is certain : Ethiopia is in a state of chaos. A situation has arisen with which the Italians seem powerless to deal.

In official French circles in Djibouti, the events in Ethiopia are being followed with great anxiety. They fear that a complete collapse of Italian authority in Ethiopia cannot long be delayed. In that case, Italian authority would be replaced by anarchy, terror and complete lawlessness.

NAZIS NOT SO RUDE FOREFATHERS

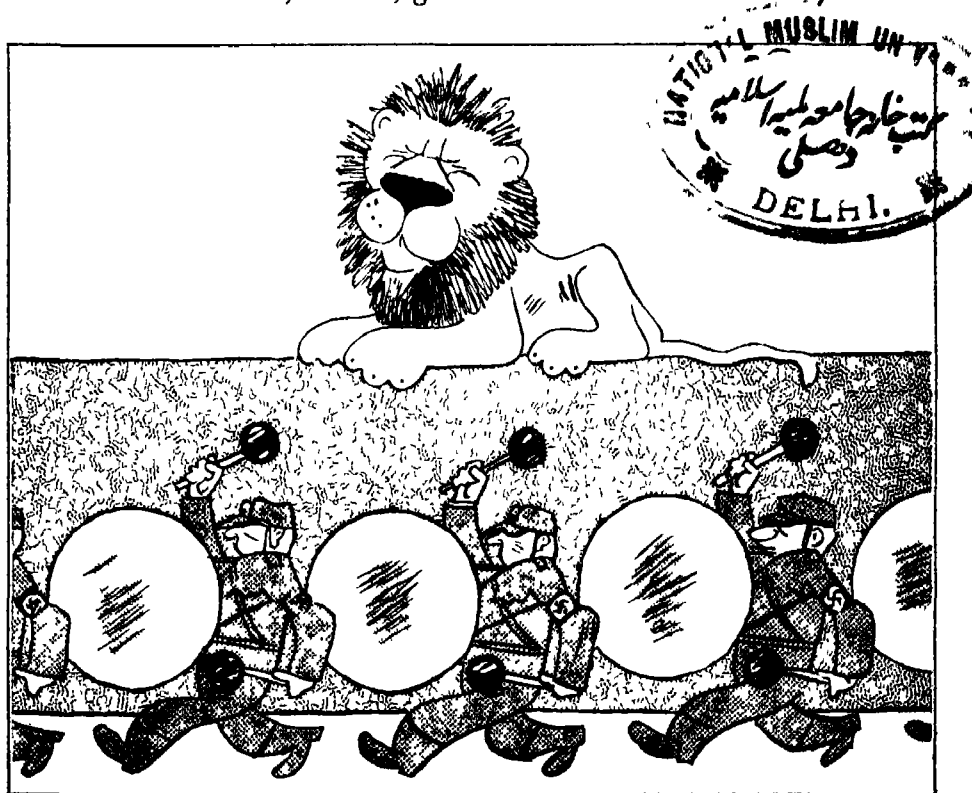
According to an announcement of the National Socialist Teachers' Union, German pre-history, together with ethnology, occupies unquestionably a decisive position among those subjects which stand today in the forefront of educational interest. In studying this subject two basic facts emerge (1) that our Germanic forefathers were by no means uncultured barbarians, but had a native, peasant culture of high value over three and a half thousand years ago ; (2) that ancient Europe owes important features of its culture to the North Every German schoolchild must be given a vivid picture of the cultural eminence of our Germanic ancestors, and the out-of-date views about them must finally disappear from lessons. Teachers will obtain the necessary equipment by a special course of training.—*Berliner Tageblatt.*

ANGLO-GERMAN UNDERSTANDING

by RUDOLF KIRCHER (*Editor*)

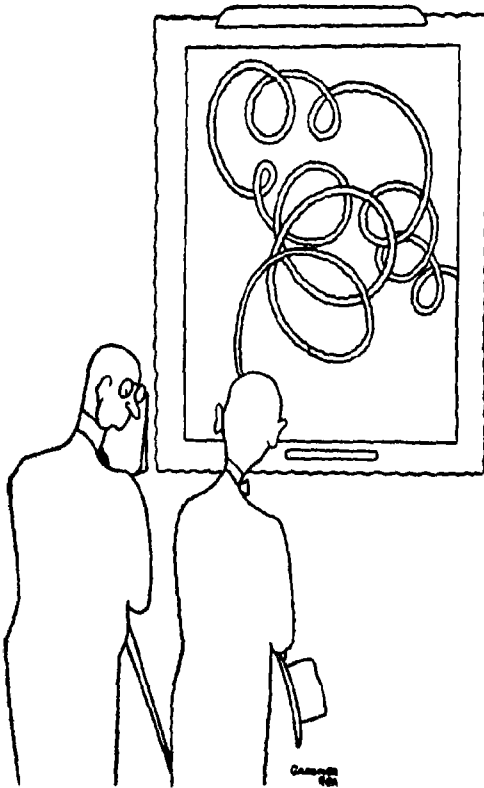
From the "Frankfurter Zeitung"

WE Germans are glad that the paths of our two States (Italy and Germany) have not led us apart, but have united us. Fascist Italy and National Socialist Germany draw their strength from the same source : from joy in their own people, and from the passionate will to bring this people to the summit of its capacity. Our national goals complement one another : Germany is the central Continental Power of Europe, Italy is intended to be the central Mediterranean Power. Just as Germany wishes to place its power in the service of a true peace, so will a strong Italy be ready to serve true peace.

The world must, indeed, get used to both—to the newly-created

"Nebelspalter," Switzerland.

"Beat up, boys ! The old lion's as tame as a dove."

Germany and to the development of a strong Italy. Both countries have found themselves forced to follow a dangerous path. They did not do so out of love of danger. Our true pleasure will be in co-operation with neighbours of goodwill, who have realised that the political picture has changed—and that it had to change.

Circumstances make it easier for Germany than for Italy to re-order relations with a country which will also be one of the shapers of future destiny—England. How difficult Anglo-Italian understanding must be if it is more difficult than Anglo-German ! Anglo-German understanding is very difficult, but possible ; above all, it is a pressing necessity for all Europe. It is a source of deep satisfaction to us Germans to know that the tried and valuable friendship between Germany and Italy has been consciously placed in the service of this constructive European work.

"To me it looks like British foreign policy."

Gardner Rea,
"New Masses," New York.

RED CHINA

by EDGAR SNOW

From "The New Republic," New York

How strong is Communism in China, and what are the aims of the Red forces? These questions are answered here by an American writer who is exceptionally well informed on the subject

AS is well known, the Chinese Communist Party began in 1920. It grew very rapidly till 1923, when Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party), made his famous entente with Soviet Russia. Neither the Kuomintang nor the Kungchangtang (Communist Party) had power, and both claimed to be struggling to establish democracy. It was easy to reach an understanding. In 1924 the Kuomintang was reorganised, an alliance was formed with the Communist Party, and Communists became very active in leading and organising the great revolution of 1925-27, which finally overthrew the corrupt Peking dictatorship.

Now the basis of this co-operation, so far as the Communists were concerned, can be summarised as the acceptance by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang of two basic revolutionary principles. The first recognised the necessity of an anti-imperialist policy—the recovery of complete political, territorial and economic sovereignty, by revolutionary action. The second demanded an internal policy of anti-feudalism—the realisation of a democratic revolution against the landlords and warlords, and the construction of new forms of social, economic and political life, which both the Communists and the Kuomintang agreed must be democratic in character.

The Communists, of course, regarded the successful fulfilment of the "bourgeois-democratic" revolution as a necessary preliminary for any socialist society that might later be established, so their position was logical in supporting a "democratic national independence and liberation" movement.

Unfortunately Dr. Sun Yat-sen died before the revolution was completed. Co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Kungchangtang came to an end in 1927. From the Communist point of

view, the Nationalist Revolution may also be said to have ended then. The right wing of the Kuomintang, dominated by the new militarism and supported by certain foreign Powers, the treaty-port bankers and the landlords, broke away from the legally elected government at Hankow. It formed a regime at Nanking under Chiang Kai-shek which the Communists and the majority of the Kuomintang at that time regarded as "counter-revolutionary," i.e., against the "bourgeois-democratic revolution" itself.

How Civil War Came

The Kuomintang soon became reconciled with Nanking, but Communism became a crime punishable by death. What the Reds conceived to be the two main points of nationalism—the anti-imperialist movement and the democratic revolution—were abandoned. Militarists' civil wars, and later intensive war against the rising agrarian revolution, ensued. Many thousands of Communists, democrats and former peasant union and labour leaders were killed. The unions were suppressed. Democracy was not established, of course, but an "enlightened dictatorship" which made war on all forms of opposition. Even so, quite a number of Communists survived in the army, and the Party held together throughout a period of great terrorism. Today, despite the expenditure of billions of dollars in civil war, the Red armies occupy in the North West the biggest single connected territory ever under their control.

Of course the Reds believe that the decade of history since 1927 has richly validated their thesis that national independence and "socialism" (which the Kuomintang also claimed as its objective) cannot be achieved in China without an anti-imperialist policy externally and an agrarian revolution internally. It is not necessary fully to inspect their case. But if we are to see why Communism is steadily increasing its following, especially among patriotic youth, and why at the moment it projects upon the screen of history the shadows of great upheaval and change in the Orient, we must note its main contentions. What are they?

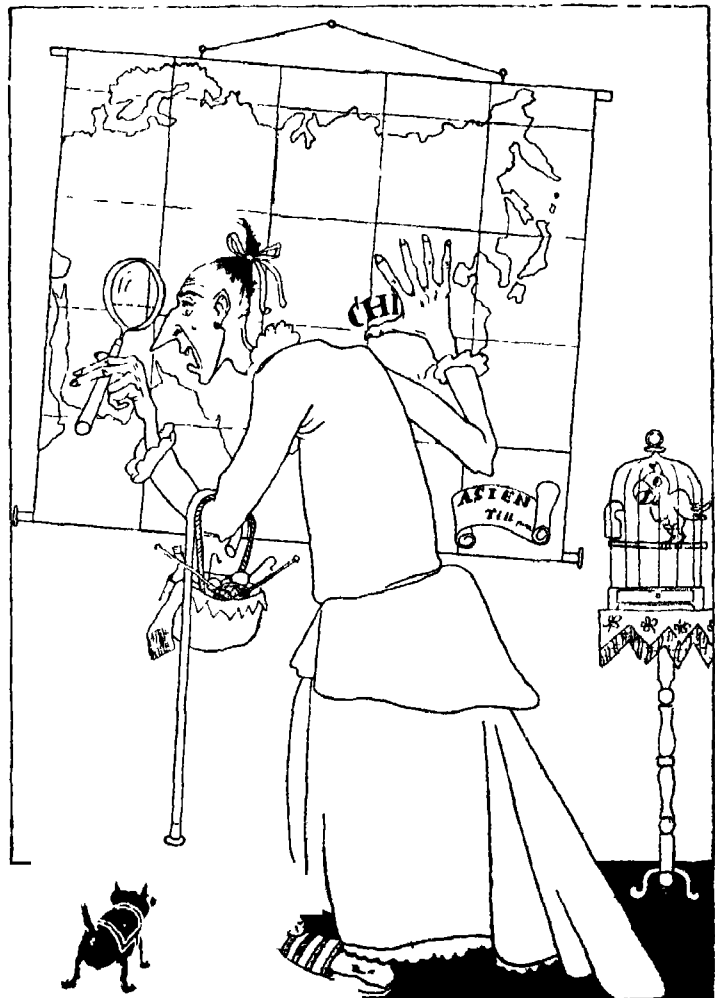
First of all, the Reds assert that since Nanking split the living forces of the revolution, China has lost much ground. Compromise has followed compromise. The failure to realise agrarian revolution resulted in widespread discontent and open rebellion.

Mao Tse-tung, as secretary of the Peasants' Committee of the Kuomintang in 1926 (before the break with the Communists, when Mao was also on the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang), supervised the collection of land statistics for areas in twenty-one provinces. He told me this investigation indicated that resident landlords, rich peasants, officials, absentee landlords and usurers, about 10 per cent. of the whole rural population, together owned over 70 per cent. of the arable land in China. About 15 per cent. was owned by middle peasants. But over 65 per cent. of the rural population—made up of poor peasants, tenants, etc.—owned only from 10 to 15 per cent. of the total land. . . .

ALL QUIET ON THE EASTERN FRONT!

The League of Nations.

"And yet people will go on talking about there being a war somewhere."

"Die Brennessel," Berlin

Rural bankruptcy has been paralleled by the disastrous consequences of the abandonment of anti-imperialism, which to most Chinese today means "anti-Japanism." As a result of Nanking's "no-war policy" against Japan, China has lost to Japanese invaders about a fifth of her national territory, 41 per cent. of her railway mileage, 85 per cent. of her unsettled lands, 80 per cent. of her iron deposits, 37 per cent. of her finest forest lands and about 40 per cent. of her national export trade. Japan now controls over 75 per cent. of the total pig-iron and iron-mining enterprises of China, and over half of the textile industry of China. These are changes which many feel completely wipe out any achievements in reform that Nanking may be able to claim to its credit for generations in the future—even provided the rest of China remains intact.

Japan Reaps the Benefit

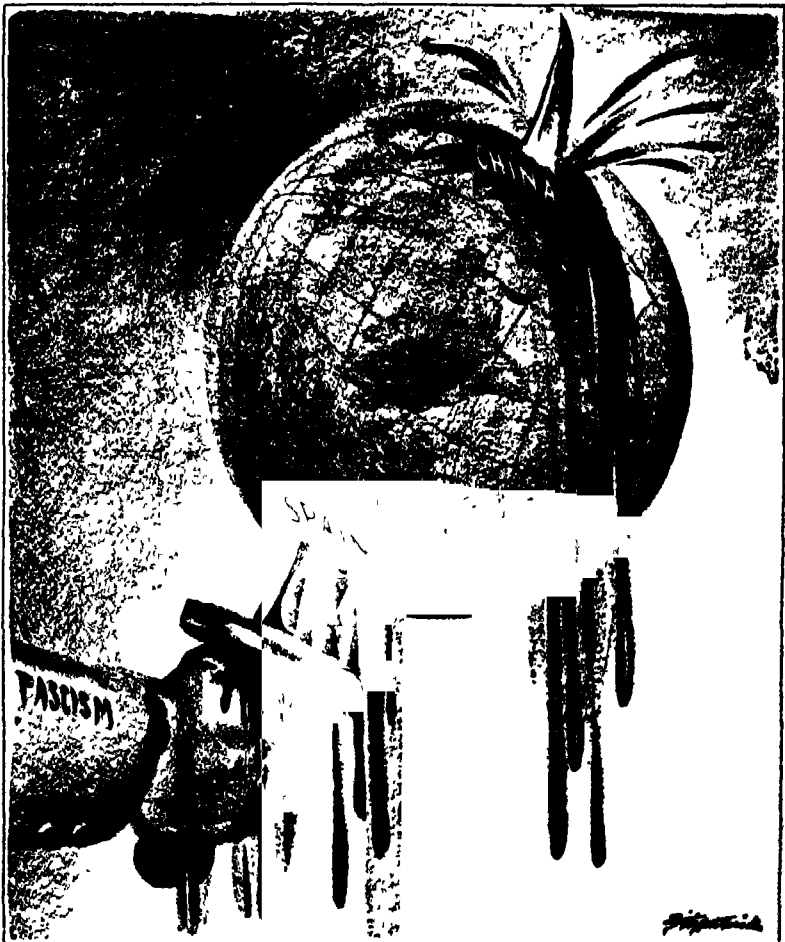
And what has been achieved by Nanking's nine years of war against the Reds? The North-West recently summarised these results in a manifesto opposing preparations for the sixth anti-Red "final-annihilation" drive. It reminded us that Manchuria had gone to Japan during one "final-annihilation" drive, Shanghai been invaded during another, Jehol given up during the third, East Hopei lost during still another, and the sovereignty of Hopei and Chahar Provinces badly impaired during the fifth "remnant-bandit extermination." Inevitably, so the North-West felt, Suiyuan would be lost during Chiang Kai-shek's newest anti-Red drive in the North-West, which coincided with Japan's invasion of the northern regions of that province. And that is why Chang Hsueh-liang and his bitterly anti-Japanese troops from Manchuria arrested the Generalissimo at Sianfu on December 12 and openly mobilised to bring about a complete change in the foreign and domestic policy.

That is why, also, despite the great strategic advantages which the Red Army enjoys in its developing position today, the "Soviet Central Government," in collaboration with the rest of the North-West, and with anti-Japanese armies and patriotic associations throughout China, offers to co-operate with Nanking to end civil war. It petitions once more for a "united front" against the aggressor, and offers to submit its Red Army and its Soviet districts to the complete

authority of Nanking—*provided* that Nanking agrees to establish democratic representative government, resists Japan, enfranchises the people and guarantees civil liberties to the masses. In other words, the Reds want to return to the original basis of the revolution—anti-imperialism and agrarian relief. As they put it, they want "really to carry out the will of Dr. Sun Yat-sen."

I asked Mao Tse-tung whether the people's-front policy meant that the Communist Party was willing to give up, or postpone indefinitely, the confiscation of landlords' land and its redistribution to the peasantry.

"This," he explained, "will have to be decided upon with the development of the anti-Japanese movement. However, we are

RIGHT THROUGH

"St Louis Post-Dispatch," U.S.A

confident that the anti-Japanese programme cannot be realised without relief to the peasantry. Agrarian revolution is of bourgeois character. It is beneficial to capitalism. We are not opposed to the development of capitalism in China now, but against imperialism and Japanese conquest."

In using the word "imperialism," the Communists distinguish between those countries who are actively aggressive and invading China today, and those democratic capitalist powers who are friendly and non-aggressive at present. Mao explained :

> Concerning the question of imperialism in general we observe that among the great powers some express unwillingness to engage in a new world war, some are not ready to see Japan occupy China : countries such as America, Great Britain, France, Holland and Belgium. Then there are countries permanently under the menace of the aggressive powers, such as Siam, the Philippines, Central American countries, Canada, India, Australia, the Dutch Indies, etc.—all more or less under the threat of Japan. We consider them our friends and invite their co-operation. . . .
>
> So except for Japan and those countries which help Japanese imperialism (meaning Italy and Germany, as indicated by Mao elsewhere) the categories mentioned above can be organised into anti-war, anti-aggression, anti-fascist world alliances. In the past Nanking has received much help from America, England and other countries. Most of these funds and supplies have been used in civil war. For every Red soldier killed, Nanking has slain many peasants and workers. According to a recent article by the banker, Chang Nai-ch'i, it has cost the Chinese people about $80,000 for every Red soldier killed by Nanking. Such "help," therefore, does not seem to us to have been rendered to our people.
>
> Only when Nanking determines to cease civil war and to fight against Japanese imperialism and unites with the people's revolution to organise a democratic national-defence government —only then can such help be of real benefit to the Chinese nation.

As for domestic policies of the Communists, these are observable

in reforms already realised in the Red districts of the North-West and in those of the Kiangsi and Fukien soviet districts. Opium traffic, for example, has been entirely suppressed in the old Red areas of the North-West. So have usury (money-lending rates were formerly 50 and 60 per cent.), child slavery and prostitution. Child slaves and prostitutes have been given land or work in the factories. Official corruption is severely punished. Whatever else is said against the Reds, few maintain that anybody is getting rich by " squeeze " (graft) in the Soviet districts.

Famines and floods, the Reds believe, are caused primarily by men, and are not acts of God, and both can be prevented or at least alleviated. Unemployment is a problem which, as far as I could see, no longer existed in the Red areas. While it is difficult to walk a block in any busy section of a crowded city in China without being approached by at least one or two beggars, in my travels in Soviet China I did not meet one. Illiteracy is being vigorously attacked in mass-education schools, in the army, through the Soviets, the Communist Party schools, and the clubs and societies under the Young Vanguards, the Young Communists, and the Poor Men's Societies.

Finally I asked, is it possible for China to make anti-imperialist alliances with democratic capitalist Powers? Mao replied :

> Anti-imperialist, anti-fascist alliances are in the nature of peace alliances, and for mutual defence against war-making nations. A Chinese anti-fascist pact with capitalist democracies is perfectly possible and desirable. It is to the interest of such countries to join the anti-fascist front in self-defence. . . .
>
> If China becomes completely colonised it will mean the beginning of a long series of terrible and senseless wars. A choice must be made. For itself, the Chinese people will take the road of struggle against its oppressors, and we hope also that the statesmen and people of foreign nations will march with us on this road, and not follow the dark paths laid down by the bloody history of imperialism. . . .
>
> To oppose Japan successfully, China must also seek assistance from other Powers. *This does not mean, however, that China is incapable of fighting Japan without foreign help!* The Chinese Communist Party, the Soviet Government, the Red Army, and the

Chinese people, are ready to unite with any Power to shorten the duration of this war. But if none joins us we are determined to carry on alone.

BRITISH INTERESTS SUFFER

From "Izvestia," Moscow

SHANGHAI possesses considerable economic significance for Britain. Her investments in Shanghai total more than that of any other Power, amounting to three and a half times Japan's investments and six times those of the United States. Britain also holds first place in Shanghai's shipping. She controls the international settlement, which is the heart of the city.

But of recent years Britain's supremacy in Shanghai has been frequently shaken and is at the present time gravely menaced. Britain's interests are threatened not by the Chinese Government or the leading circles of the Shanghai bourgeoisie, whose relations with Britain are now better than at any time during the past decade. Neither has Britain anything to fear in Shanghai from Americans. The menace to Britain comes from Japan and the attack which Japan is now carrying out in Shanghai is directed not only against the Chinese people but also against British supremacy and British interests.

BUT SHE SMOOTHS THE WAY

From "Pravda," Moscow

THE very first comments on the wounding of Hugessen made by *Reuter*, the semi-official British agency, were extremely indicative of the position adopted by Britain. *Reuter* stated that the unwarranted attack on British automobiles by Japanese planes was deserving of grave admonition. At the same time the agency called the attack on unfortunate accident. Finally, this semi-official agency kow-towed to the Japanese by pointing out as a favourable circumstance the fact that the Japanese authorities in Shanghai had expressed regret over the Hugessen incident.

Britain's demands are of a distinctly formal nature. British

Government newspapers openly beseech Tokyo to meet Britain half-way. The tone of the London Press is as though it was not Japanese airmen who fired at the British Ambassador but British airmen who fired at the Japanese. This tone brings out once more that the ruling circles in Britain are doing everything in their power not to place the Japanese aggressor in an awkward position.

Over the past few years Britain has consistently facilitated aggressors.

The results of this policy are now evident. Japanese airmen bomb the richest British enterprises in Shanghai and make of British diplomats targets for their machine guns.

The events in the Far East, like those in the west of Europe, daily teach that the policy of facilitating aggressors creates fruitful soil for lawlessness, violence and provocations.

THE MOSCOW-NANKING PACT

From " Moscow Daily News "

THE policy of the struggle for peace, unswervingly pursued by the Soviet Union on the basis of the principles of collective security, has long since earned universal recognition and won wide popularity throughout the world. The conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese Republic serves as additional proof of the unalterable desire of the peoples of the Soviet Union for peace, and of the peace policy pursued by the Soviet Government. It constitutes a new link in the chain of non-aggression pacts concluded by the Soviet Government with various countries in the west and in the east.

At the same time, this pact is the logical culmination of a policy which has always been and continues to be pursued by the Soviet Government with regard to the Chinese nation, which is fighting for its independence. At all stages of its diplomatic relations with China the Soviet Union has always pursued a friendly policy toward that country.

The signing of the pact at the present moment is not only a valuable contribution to the cause of universal peace, but it shows the Chinese people in their period of great stress where their real friends are to be found.

FAREWELL TO BOLSHEVISM
Russia's National Foreign Policy

From the "Nationalzeitung," Basle, Switzerland

Times have changed in the Soviet Union. World revolution is no longer the first aim, but preservation of Russia as a national state. And this change gives the clue to Russia's policy regarding China

IT would not be doing justice to the role Russia is playing in the Councils of the Powers today, to believe the slogans in the German press which declare that the Soviet Union wants to take action on the Abyssinian question, the Spanish problem, and the Far-Eastern conflict in the interests of the Communist party and using the methods of the Third International. The Soviet Union has become a national state ; state interests have put Party interests very much in the background, and the questions of ever-increasing urgency: how long Moscow will go on watching the advances made by the Spanish Nationalists, whether she will intervene in the Sino-Japanese conflict, and so on, can only be at all satisfactorily answered if the change that has taken place within Russia herself is properly understood.

Here we must be permitted to digress from the field of foreign politics. The award of the government commission which judged a competition for a new history text book for schools has just been announced in the Russian newspapers. It is uncommonly instructive, and especially significant in its treatment of the development of Bolshevism. Out of the forty-six manuscripts submitted, the commission declared only one to be in keeping with the spirit of the age. All the others were reproached with being most serious misrepresentations. Some, for instance, treated the importance of Christianity in the history of Russia too lightly, ignored the tendency towards centralisation, or described the Bolshevik Revolution as a class revolt, instead of a national uprising against the international bougeoisie.

That is very characteristic. But the judges also condemned the "chatter about the Happiest Country in the World" with which whole pages of the text book were covered, and turned down the idea that the working class, which is the leader of the entire nation, had brought about the revolution solely in its own interests. Any author

who tried to make children think that the State authority of Soviet Russia operates directly through the Communist party was sternly rebuked. Not the party but the Soviets are to be shown as the " political basis " of the new Russia. The principle of the national State has thus finally triumphed over Party interests.

Closely related to the great cleavage between the older and the younger generations, which is probably, as in Nazi Germany, really a struggle for the best morsels in the trough, there is behind the Kremlin's apparently senseless rage against the old Bolsheviks an ideological opposition between the State and the Party. One may well say that the actual physical extermination of the adherents of Party power is only quickening a process created by the new mentality of Russian youth.

In foreign politics Soviet Russia will, therefore, probably still go on threatening other nations for a long time with weapons taken from the arsenal of the Communist Party ideology, but she will only really seriously involve herself when her *national* interests are threatened. It can therefore be forecast with certainty that Litvinov will take no strong action in Geneva on the Abyssinian question. The security of the Russian nation is not involved in Abyssinia, and if England and Italy come to an agreement, Russia's representative may well, to save face, protest against the breach of justice, but will probably try to get some advantages for the Soviet Union out of her renunciation of a formal veto. Such advantages for Moscow would be in connection with Spain and Japan, always taking into account the realistic attitude of the Kremlin, which is engaged in Spain more on account of the interests of party tactics than of national politics.

Let Japan Bleed to Death

At present the real interests of Russia are only in danger in the Far East ; it is only there that she will concentrate her activities and be inflexible in her diplomacy. But does that mean that the situation, through Moscow's very determination to let Japan bleed to death in China, will be driven to a crisis ? An irresponsible press talks today of the Soviet's intentions of conquest in China, just as though she thought the time had come to bring about the Chinese revolution, so actively instigated before, from which Lenin's " world revolution " might still emerge. It is forgotten that Russia today depends on

order, not on chaos, for the preservation of her regime ; that she is afraid of relapsing into a chaotic condition, which she tries to blame on Trotskyism, and that she has enough to do defending herself against "Fascism." Without doubt in Ulan Bator, the capital of the Mongolian People's Republic, military preparations are being made to aid the Chinese with tanks, aeroplanes, guns and munitions. The sudden death of the Mongolian minister of war, on his way to Moscow, makes it easy to guess what a lively interchange of ideas there is between Moscow and Mongolia, and Mongolia and China. But Soviet Russia is not at all interested in a quick settlement of the conflict between China and Japan ; it can only suit her book if Japan is bogged for years in China and weakens herself in Manchuria. So all that can be expected is that she will do no more than support China in a long defensive war. The interests of the Communist party under Lenin, and also in the first few years under Stalin, demanded dramatic decisions ; today all that is changed, and the interests of the Russian State will be best satisfied if the world goes on with its same old hesitating, long-winded wrangles.

JUDAS JUNIOR

Vitalik Abratian, who is 14, is starting school after spending a summer, free of charge, at the best children's camp in Russia.

He received this award from the Central Committee of the Young Communist League for having betrayed his father to the Secret Police and for having testified against him in court

Vitalik was pointed out as a "splendid example" by the children's newspaper (*Pioneer's Pravda*) in an editorial urging young people to spy on their parents should they suspect them of counter-revolutionary activity.

After his father had been executed Vitalik said :

"I could not help but fulfil my duty, the duty of every young Leninist. He is no father to me any more , he is an enemy of the people The great Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is now my father "—*Evening Standard, Moscow Correspondent.*

SPOKE THE POLITICIAN

I have been asked by a member as guest at a party luncheon in the House of Commons whether the Palestine Government were advancing as swiftly as possible with the National Home, "for," he said, "I have in my constituency some thousands of Jews who are continually inquiring, whereas," he added, with engaging but unnecessary candour, "I have no Arabs."—*Sir Ronald Storrs' "Memoirs."*

AUSTRALIA KNOWS HER PLACE
And Wants Her Own Policy

From the "Austral-Asiatic Bulletin" (organ of the Australian Institute of International Affairs) Melbourne

AUSTRALIA'S place is in the Pacific. The world is large, and its problems tend to develop upon a regional basis. Europe is an entanglement, and those who have responsibility for national policy in that area have little time for anything else. Therefore the duty of Australian statesmen is to study the Pacific, to formulate a national policy suited to Australia's position, to maintain friendly relations with her neighbours there, and to refuse to allow her attitude to be influenced by antagonisms bred elsewhere. . . .

The announced policy of the Commonwealth Government has been to follow British policy in support of collective security and in the use of the League of Nations against an aggressor. But British trust in the League plan of salvation has been rudely shattered, and the question now is whether any alternative plan has been formulated. Doubt in the efficacy of sanctions has long prevailed among many students of international affairs in Australia who are devoted to peace and are believers in the need of the League of Nations. In a fully armed world, strategical factors alone count. A pre-arranged plan to resist aggression by force may very well make war automatic and convert all wars into world wars. If there is in operation at the same time no means of readjusting the *status quo*, sanctions may very well promote war rather than secure peace.

But whatever may be the position in Europe, it is clear that sanctions are inapplicable in the Pacific. The essence of the case for sanctions is that there shall be available ready for use an aggregation of force sufficient to deter aggressors. The distances, the geographical disposition of Pacific powers, make such a use of force impossible. The existence of the sanctions plan is at once an excuse for the progressive increase of armaments in this area and a barrier to international understanding. It would be better if they were discarded altogether for that area.

Consider again defence policy. Many students hold that Great Britain may not be able to spare any part of her fleet to protect her

distant possessions in the event of a European crisis. If this be so, Australia can best serve herself and the Empire by making adequate provision for her own protection with aerial and coastal defences supported by mechanised land forces. Apparently, Government opinion is that the Navy is the most important line of defence, and much money is being spent on the navy, which makes so much less to be spent on the air force and coast defence. . . .

The naval effort has been determined partly by a naval tradition which is out of date, but very largely by the advice of British authorities. The Australian navy of itself is a very small force. Its only value will be in co-operation with a British fleet based upon Singapore, and the combined fleet must be sufficient to balance other fleets there if it is to protect British interests. British advice to Australia, therefore, involves a promise that such a detachment can be made from British naval forces in Europe at any time, even when there is a crisis in Europe. . . .

"*Sydney Bulletin.*"

"What's the hunting cry in Australia, sir? We shout 'Tally-Ho!' at Home."

The conflict between Imperial patriotism and Australian interests is as evident in trade policy. Sentiment is used too often as a substitute for thought. In considering trade policy, as in defence, Australia best serves the British Commonwealth and herself if she bases policy on the economic considerations affecting the Pacific. These have changed vitally in the last generation. At the moment Australia is committed to the Ottawa policy, which has served Australia well in providing markets for some of her less stable industries, while Australian preference has given British manufacturers a large share of the Australian import market. But the Empire will never be able to take all of Australia's staples—wheat and wool—and in her trade diversion measures against Japan Australia gravely imperilled her markets for these products in the East. On the other hand, the development of secondary industry in Australia is necessary to the employment of the population. It is questionable whether there is any net advantage to Australia or to Great Britain from Imperial trade preferences because of their restrictive influence upon foreign markets.

There is a more important objection to the Ottawa policy. British protagonists of that policy apparently desire to make the Empire an exclusive economic bloc. Not only have restrictions been applied to the trade of the Crown Colonies, but the pressure of British interests has been applied to foreign countries to exclude Japanese trade. Such a policy will gravely affect the international position of Australia in the Pacific. It is clear that nations with expanding populations cannot allow the British Empire, covering one-fifth of the earth's surface and a quarter of its population, to be treated as an exclusive bloc. The British Empire grew because it pursued a free trade policy. It would have been killed in its early youth had it not abandoned the old mercantilism. An exclusive policy accentuates all the inequalities and injustices of the world order and points directly to war. If it leads to conflict in the Pacific, Australia will bear the brunt.

PHILOSOPHY MAKES GOOD

When we next came back to University City we were put into the Philosophy building. We built barricades with volumes of Indian metaphysics and early nineteenth-century German philosophy ; they were quite bullet-proof.—*International Brigade fighter, New Republic, N.Y.*

CHARITY?
What Will Happen to £100,000,000

From the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch," U.S.A.

IN a statement explaining Andrew W. Mellon's will, leaving all but $180,000 (£36,000) of a huge personal fortune to an educational and charitable trust, D. D. Shepard, Mr. Mellon's attorney, says the estate will thus be exempt from inheritance taxes. The trust is self-perpetuating and irrevocable, meaning apparently that only the income, or part of the income, will be spent. It is controlled by Mr. Mellon's son, his son-in-law and Mr. Shepard.

Treasury officials are not so certain about tax-exemption. They are looking into the question. No one knows how much the estate is worth, but if, as has been estimated, it is valued at a half-billion dollars (£100,000,000), and if it had been left to individuals, the combined State and Federal taxes would have been $347,000,000 (£69,400,000). If the estate is worth $100,000,000 (£20,000,000), the taxes would have been $67,000,000 (£13,400,000). Mr. Mellon's will made no provision for his children, because he had turned over to them much of his property prior to his death.

The purpose of inheritance taxes, of course, is to prevent the perpetuation of financial dynasties, which would go on generation after generation in possession of ever-increasing fortunes of huge dimensions. The principle of drastic taxation on fortunes of great proportions is so firmly imbedded in law, both State and Federal, that its justice is no longer seriously questioned. This is true not only in America, but in other countries. Great Britain's death duties, for example, are more severe than ours. They supply more than 10 per cent. of Great Britain's entire revenue.

We believe, therefore, that the Mellon trust should have realistic scrutiny, even though such scrutiny should result in the retort that a large gift for education and charity should be accepted without question as a boon to humanity. Julius Rosenwald, one of the greatest and most studious philanthropists this country has produced, did not think all such large foundations were necessarily boons to humanity. He sharply reproved many philanthropies as attempts by men of one generation to prophesy the needs of those in the future.

John D. Rockefeller, one of the wisest of givers, specified that the trustees of his foundation for medical research must spend a certain amount of the principal within 50 years.

The *New York Times* quotes Frank J. Hogan, a Mellon attorney, as saying that up to April, 1935, the trustees of the Mellon trust had distributed $255,443 for religious, charitable and educational purposes and had bought $34,300 worth of pictures. In April, 1935, the trust had been in existence for about five years, and the amount expended must have been only a small part of the income.

News-Week, whose editor is Raymond Moley, said in its issue of May 8, 1937 :

" More ' Charity ' : Look for a steady increase in ' philanthropic foundations ' set up by wealthy men. It's the neatest trick for keeping control of a business in the family. Here's how it works : You own 51 per cent. of a big company's stock ; when you die, your heirs must sell much of the stock to pay inheritance taxes, thus losing control of the company. But suppose you create a special ' foundation,' make your heirs its sole trustees and turn your stock over to it. Then the gift to the 'charitable' foundation isn't taxed ; your heirs, as trustees of the foundation and its stock, can keep themselves in control of the company and vote themselves, as company officers, any salaries or bonuses they choose."

BRAZIL BURNS MORE COFFEE

Brazil again is giving the world a lesson in economic paradox She is burning more coffee Since 1931, 50,000,000 sacks of that country's major product, worth more than $250,000,000, have been destroyed. Thirty per cent. of the crop went up in smoke last year. But that wasn't enough to maintain prices at the desired level, so this year, 70 per cent. of the coffee produced will be destroyed.—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*

SWITZERLAND, LOOK TO YOUR LAURELS!

Alpine Health ! An artistic house need not necessarily cost a large amount of money. . . . Spend an afternoon 700 feet up in Surrey's gloriously wooded hills, visiting Dome Hill, Caterham.—*Advt. in " Evening Standard."*

THAT'S HOW IT IS

" That football star seems to be rather blue," said the pretty sophomore.

" Yes," replied the dignified senior, " they say his father is always writing to him for money."—*Christian Science Monitor, Boston.*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We welcome letters (which should be as short as possible) from our readers on any subject connected with international affairs

DEMOCRACY IN FRANCE

SIR,—I read in the September issue of WORLD REVIEW a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* by the French Liberal journalist, Odette Keun, about the internal situation in France and the danger democracy runs from "the masses." As a French Liberal, I cannot agree with the description nor the interpretation of facts in her letter.

No honest man ever denied that the "red" syndicates (C G.T) committed very regrettable excesses, and secured a good deal of adherents through intimidation and browbeating-- but certainly not to the extent of two or even one million, and the overwhelming majority of the five million members are free adherents

The "Ministry of the Masses" is a myth. Let us assume that the Communists rule the C.G.T , which rules the Government ! If they are, as one pretends, the political agents of Moscow more than anything else, how then could they not impose precisely Moscow's foreign policy ? Léon Blum, during the frightful night of February 6, 1934, when the riot was at the gates of the Chamber, was one of the few deputies who kept calm. That man is not the slave of the street.

One may wish another leader for France than Blum, but do not say that Blum was afraid : he kept political Liberalism free from all menace. But a far deeper question is at stake, which seems to have escaped Odette Keun's perspicacity : whether *economic* Liberalism will have to yield to "planned," "directed," or "controlled" economy. France, with many other countries, regardless of their political regime, is on the way to it. The State now fixes prices (Wheat Office), interferes with private employers (for wages and even engagement). These economic improvements *cannot* be introduced without the collaboration of economic groups trade-unions, consumers' and producers' associations, etc Hence those extra-parliamentary consultations between the Government, the C.G T , the C G P F. (employers of big firms), etc , that so much frighten Odette Keun

Now I readily admit that the middle-classes were more or less sacrificed in those negotiations But through no fault of either greedy Capitalists or those awful Reds The middle-classes were not excluded from the negotiations, they simply did not take part They are not organised, and their individualism even hates organisation ; that hate may prove to be suicidal in the future At present, and as long as they have no organisation of their own, the crucial French problem is whether those classes, the bulk of the French nation, will enlist in the Fascist leagues or keep in touch with the Popular Front ; which, translated in terms of economy means whether (frightened by the Reds more than allured by the potential Führers) they stand for "order" and the traditional principles of uncontrolled property and authority, or, siding with a proletariat that gave many proofs of its political maturity, fight for the "New Deal."

J. CHEVALLIER, Lic. ès-Sc.

Le Perreux (Seine).

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

SPECIAL AUTUMN BOOK SECTION

AS WE SEE OTHERS

THOSE FOREIGNERS : The Foreign Policy of the English People since Waterloo. By Raymond Postgate and Aylmer Vallance. *Harrap.* 10*s* 6*d* *net.*

Reviewed by WICKHAM STEED

WHAT impression, I wonder, did the authors and compilers of this book mean to leave in its readers' minds? Their selections from English journals between 1815 and 1937 are valuable as historical material, and must have cost no little effort to put together. But to call them "The Foreign Policy of the English People since Waterloo" is at once over-ambitious and inadequate One looks in vain for a clear statement of the principles that governed the work of selection, for an Introduction or an Epilogue that should make plain the point of view or, perhaps, the bias of Messrs. Postgate and Vallance. One may guess their bias from the connecting comment between the quotations ; but I, at any rate, should have been less bewildered had I been told frankly at the beginning, or at the end, what the authors were really driving at.

Not all readers of this book will take the trouble or have the time to look through Mr. H. A. L. Fisher's account, in his remarkable *History of Europe*, of the periods which these selections cover. But a comparison of his penetrating analyses of English opinion before and after Waterloo with the extracts in *Those Foreigners* would bring into sharp relief the inadequacy of the latter. In the light of Mr. Fisher's work they appear disjointed and, in places, misleading They are not unlike the scenes of a film badly put together and hard to conceive, even by imagination, as parts of one and the same story.

Let me take the period which I know best—from, say, 1880 down to the present day I remember, very vaguely, the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, but I have a very clear recollection of the Boer War in 1881, the bombardment of Alexandria and the battle of Tel-el-Kebir in 1882, and of all the later episodes to which these quotations refer. Still more vividly do I recall the crisis of July and August, 1914, and the conditions under which some of the leading articles recorded in this volume were written ; and I cannot imagine that if either Mr. Raymond Postgate or Mr. Aylmer Vallance had been called upon to write those articles, with full knowledge of the perplexing intricacies and fearful anxieties of the national and international situation at that moment, they would have felt disposed to put "elevated sentiments" into them or to indulge in rhetoric. Yet they say :—

> The leaders written in newspaper offices on the fourth and fifth of August, 1914, are the most important words that English journalists have written in this century—perhaps the most important they have ever been called upon to write. One of the writers of this book had a strong belief that they rose to the occasion not unworthily, that even the *Daily Mail* printed some not ill-chosen words denying that Englishmen had or could have any enmity to the German nation But search fails to unearth anything corresponding to this recollection All the editorials seem . . . toneless and pedestrian. They have very few of what the 18th century would have called "elevated sentiments" and their diction is indifferent and uninspiring.

The longest extract in the chapter in which this passage occurs is from Horatio Bottomley's notorious *John Bull* article: "To Hell With Servia!" which had no more influence upon English opinion than the screaming of a parrot at the Zoo Messrs Postgate and Vallance take it as proof that when the man in the street did consider foreign affairs he was inclined to condemn vigorously the State which had disturbed his comfort, and "*John Bull*, following with its usual skill the popular mind, reacted in words which it was afterwards anxious to forget"

Nor were the leading articles written on August 4 and 5, 1914, the most significant. The die was then cast. My judgment may be wrong but I am still inclined to ascribe a certain elevation of sentiment to the concluding passage from the leading article of *The Times* on July 31, when, so far as the public knew, the issue was still in doubt. It ran :—

> It is not merely our honour which bids us be true to our friends. It is consideration for our own welfare and our own security. Were we to show weakness or pusillanimity now, none would trust us again. We should be hated by the friends we had abandoned, and despised by the rivals before whose threats we had flinched. We shall still work on for peace ; work on for it to the very end ; but the hour has come when we, too, may have to make instant preparations for war. The Angel of Death is abroad. We "may almost hear the beating of his wings." He may yet "spare us and pass on" ; but if he visits those with whom we stand, we must pay our share of the fell tribute with stout hearts

Those lines were the work of one of the ablest and most cultivated pens of the past half-century, a pen guided by a mind that hated the very thought of war, and a mind attuned to the loftiest tones of English thought, as the quotations from John Bright's classical speech go to show Unless the authors of *Those Foreigners* have ever had to write under so heavy a burden of responsibility as that which then lay upon journalists and editors, they would have done better to be more charitable—and more perspicacious—in their judgments.

I cannot rid myself of the feeling that this compilation has been put together from what is almost a post-war "defeatist" standpoint and that its—probably unconscious—tendency is to "debunk" the past One would hardly guess from it how much honest idealism pervaded English public life, and sometimes even prompted British foreign policy, in the 19th century. It is not fair to take extracts from this daily journal or that, and to serve them up as illustrations of what the English people thought at a given moment, unless the

whole context is also provided. By " context " I mean not only the phrases which may have preceded or followed the passages quoted but the circumstances which writers were bound to take into account. And, since the reproduction or the description of those circumstances is a very difficult matter, it is usually wiser for historians to treat press utterances as what they were—thoughts of the day for the day, expressed under the changing conditions of a passing moment, not as utterances carefully pondered over and printed as permanent contributions to the stock of public thought.

Therefore this volume cannot be taken as more than an adjunct to historical research. In so far as it reflects the deep-seated English feeling that all foreigners are a little lower than English angels, and that though one may not despise them one may be a little sorry for them because they are not English, it is psychologically accurate. It shows, too, that in the spacious Victorian days the language of the English press was more " robustious " than it is today. But I fancy that another " anthology," put together by selectors working from another standpoint or with another bias, would show a very different picture of English opinion, and even of " The Foreign Policy of the English People since Waterloo," than that which appears in these pages.

NAVAL REVIEW

LOOK TO YOUR MOAT. By Admiral Sir Barry Domvile, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G. *Hutchinson.* 10*s*. 6*d*.

Reviewed by Vice-Admiral C. V. Usborne, C.B., C.M.G.

Admiral Domvile's crisp, readable book, so romantically titled, is no more and no less than a popular treatise on current

naval affairs. His title, culled from the writings of George Savile, Marquis of Halifax, implies that "the first article of an Englishman's political creed must be that he believeth in the sea." No one will quarrel with this, and indeed the whole book is replete with sage opinions, admirably argued, which it would be difficult to contest.

It is very important that books should be written airing these questions of the day, not only on account of the need to educate young officers, many of whom are so deeply engrossed in the details of their profession that its broad essentials escape them until they are too old to think without prejudice, but also to give that large section of the British public, which takes a keen and intelligent interest in its Navy, something on which to appease its insatiable appetite for matters concerning the Fleet.

Admirable Domvile is well qualified to write such a book, for not only has he served on the Committee of Imperial Defence and later as Director of Naval Intelligence, but he has also been Director of the Naval War College at Greenwich.

It would be difficult in a short review to touch on all the controversial points he raises. He starts by showing how we came to create the necessity for a Navy by the roving expeditions of the Elizabethans followed by the colony-snapping policy of Pitt, and how the possession of sea-power gave us, as a corollary, great weight in the affairs of nations He points out how the developments of the last century have made it essential that we should retain sea-power not so much to defend our Empire, but to defend our sea communications which bring to the country the food we cannot do without. One Navy, in fact, provided it is adequate, fulfils three functions, to feed Britain, to preserve the Empire and to give Britain a voice in world affairs. All this has been said before many times, but it cannot be said too often.

The bearing of flying on naval strategy is then dealt with. The Admiral holds that while it undoubtedly complicates the problem, it does not change its essentials. But he thinks it very probable that in the face of combined air and submarine attack, our merchant ships will be unable to use the English Channel to come to London, where they must come for the proper distribution of their goods. He presupposes, I presume, that the north coast of France will be in the hands of an enemy. At all events so grave does he think this situation that he is a pronounced advocate of the canal joining the Clyde to the Firth of Forth so that merchant ships could come north-about to London. He states, and this I believe to be accepted in official quarters, that the essential imports of this country cannot be satisfactorily distributed except from the Port of London. It is, of course, permissible to argue, on the other hand, that the millions which would be spent in cutting the Forth-Clyde canal might be equally well spent in organising the ports on the west coast for alternative distribution. At all events the Admiralty have not accepted, so far, the Forth-Clyde canal scheme.

Then the Admiral, in a very interesting way, shows how, since the war ended, we have become conference-minded. In the old days we built as we chose and the world cut its naval coat according to our pattern Today the system of building by agreement has landed us in the necessity of constructing the expensive 35,000-ton battleships. He sets out the arguments for small battleships very clearly, making it plain that he does not advocate them so long as other countries have larger ones If the small battleship protagonists had made this proviso clear very much earlier in the day, it is

AFRICAN ODYSSEY

by W. ROBERT FORAN

"Basing his account on Cameron's own record, he has re-told his story in a vigorous, graphic and eloquent manner."—*Western Mail.* "Major Foran's book merits its title."—*Public Opinion.* By the author of "Changing Horizons," etc. With 59 illustrations. 18/-

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ALL the DAYS of MY LIFE

by S. P. B. MAIS

"Mr. Mais' exuberance bubbles up on every page of this entertaining volume."—*Daily Telegraph.* "A great, zestful, exhilarating book, gloriously abounding with vitality."—*Western Mail.* By the author of "England's Character," etc. With 18 illustrations. 10/6

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LOOK to YOUR MOAT

by Adml. Sir BARRY DOMVILE, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G.

"This broadminded and refreshing book should be read by all to whom the British Empire is a heritage to be maintained."—*Morning Post.* By the author of "By and Large." National Book Association Choice. 10/6

●

AMBUSH

by W. E. WYNN

"Apart from its value as a contribution to our knowledge of events in a fascinating minor theatre, his book is a piece of living literature." —*Morning Post.* "There is much here of real interest . . . deserves careful reading. Easy and pleasant to read, Mr. Wynn has a fluent and efficient pen."—*Birmingham Post.* With 18 illustrations. 10/6

HUTCHINSON

possible that we should be blessed with a much lower limit today !

The author, however, goes on to suggest tentatively that in spite of the fact that the United States insist on a 35,000-ton limit, Britain might set the fashion of building smaller battleships, and he thinks the United States would probably follow and the rest of the world would tail after. But even if this supposition proved right, what of the long transition period in which Britain had her new small battleships to set against the existing larger ones of other countries? Would not her voice in the affairs of nations become feeble in proportion? Moreover, the American naval experts made it very clear, when this question was being discussed, that they based their limiting size of battleship on fighting qualities. They want a ship big enough to stand up to punishment and go on fighting in the face of guns, torpedoes and bombs, and they could not do this under 35,000 tons. It does not seem, therefore, in spite of the Admiral's arguments, that there is any probability of escape from the expense of building these mastodons for many years to come if we intend to remain an Empire

The question of our capacity to take strong action in the Pacific is gone into, and the author holds, and here no one in possession of the facts would question him, that it is beyond our power to coerce Japan.

On the subject of coal versus oil, he pronounces himself on the side of Sir John Latta who advocates that all future naval construction should be fitted for alternative coal firing. In this the author differs from the official Admiralty opinion, reasserted each time they have been forced by external pressure to go over the arguments again. Admiral Domvile admits that oil is infinitely preferable to coal for naval purposes, but thinks we may easily in war-time find ourselves deprived of it. He says it is impossible that the processes for making oil from coal can be so developed in this country as to meet this danger. This is precisely where the crux lies. I was under the impression that the plants which have been established in this country for making petrol from coal had as their real object the development of a scheme for making our own oil, if need be, in war-time. If this is not so it most certainly ought to be, and I hope the Admiral's book will stimulate the authorities to advance this matter to a stage at which it could be brought into being on an adequate scale in war-time. I understand that the cost of producing oil from coal, though high, is not prohibitive, and since the money would be spent entirely within the country, its real cost in war-time would be far lower than buying the oil from abroad This I believe to be the true answer to the coal-versus-oil controversy

The book ends with reflections on the spirit of the Navy. The author holds that the offensive spirit so necessary for success in war has been deadened by centralisation and specialisation of officers in gunnery, electricity and so on. He is one of those who believe, apparently, that a live understanding of modern science is inconsistent with a true comprehension of, and the capacity to act on, the fact that offensive action is necessary to success in war. I have always suspected this fantastic idea to spring subconsciously from a form of mental laziness. Provided officers are taught the value of initiative and offence, and they are taught it now, though insufficiently before the late war, there will be as many specialists as non-specialists capable of putting their lesson to good use Fortunately, the Admiralty preserves its freedom to select naval leaders from all branches of the executive and does not exclude those who have

added science to their other qualifications.

None the less, in this matter, as in all the others on which he touches, the Admiral's arguments are worthy of the closest study.

STORY OF HUMILIATION

ITALY AGAINST THE WORLD. By George Martelli. *Chatto & Windus.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by G. L. Steer

It seems to me not a little daring to bring out a book about the Abyssinian War in September, 1937. Let's see—when was that war? Two back or three back? And wasn't it a dispute rather than a war, and the League was involved wasn't it, and we all got hit up about it and dropped it? Ah, yes, and gas and all that.

Yet it is not only daring of Mr. Martelli to write his history of the affair: in a rather degenerate world, it is surprisingly, gratifyingly moral. For he writes with an object: he wishes to point out the malefactors, to analyse the crime to which we were all parties. And the issue of his enquiry is fair, balanced and firm

He covers the Italo-Ethiopian conflict from the powder-flash at Wal Wal to the Italian massacre in Addis Ababa last February But, as he explains, the scene " is laid more often in Europe than in Africa, and the protagonists are statesmen and politicians rather than generals and warriors." For Mr. Martelli has made it his particular pastime to track down the spoors of the British National Government away from Collective Security, in cautious circuit round the Peace Ballot, down the garden path of Offers to Mussolini, back in pique (and fear of the electorate) to the neglected cave of Collective Security right up the dizzy heights of Sanctions. It was at this unaccustomed altitude that Mr. Baldwin, his hands supported by Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Anthony Eden to steady a slight attack of vertigo, saw the Promised Land or Happy Release of the Laval Plan across the turbulent but navigable waters of only one more river, and that's the river of the General Election. It was by crossing this stream that the wily animal was able to throw off the scent: and to conceal its whereabouts it also sealed its lips. But the *Morning Post* correspondent courageously follows its muddy trail to the finish, and in the last pages of his book he is able to expose the beast's unattractive pelt, and come to an unflattering conclusion about its breed.

This was a necessary book. The public needs constantly to be reminded of our national humiliation, dated 1935-6 Those two years were the pivot of the future: they set the lists between Might and Right, and Might won because Right was deliberately feeble. But it is only by reading Mr. Martelli that one sees how easily Right might have pulled it off: and how fixed is Might in the saddle because Right wavered. There is room for two views on Mr. Martelli's estimate of the fickleness and the need-to-be-led of the British public. But none on the clarity, the searching honesty and the vigour of this study into the roots of our great national failure.

GENEVA WARMAKER ?

COLLECTIVE INSECURITY. By H. M. Swanwick, C.H., M.A. *Jonathan Cape* 8*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by " Ulysses "

(*Our Geneva correspondent*)

This is a provocative book. It is meant to be, for the author obviously feels most passionately about her subject. Mrs. Swanwick needs no introduction.

Her work for peace has been untiring. Her sincerity is as obvious as is her knowledge of the last eighteen years. Her book falls in two parts ; Part I she calls the Obsession of Security ; Part II the Creation of Confidence. In Part I she traces the political history of the League from its foundation down to as late as January 24 of this year. She draws up a tremendous indictment, her main theme being the folly of attempting to create a League whose decisions must in the last resort be enforced by sanctions and therefore, she maintains, by war. So far she is on common ground with all opponents of the League, whether on the Right or on the Left, though I did not find the arguments put forward in her introduction against a system of sanctions to be very convincing. To say that " international politics should be far more concerned with Psychology and Economics than . . with legalism and a barren chop-logic," may be true, but man has not yet discovered any other way of regulating his private and public affairs than the way of law. The law may be bad. The law may be broken, but so far nothing other than a legal system—be it a Treaty system, the system of the Covenant or a national legal system—has yet been discovered for defining the rules under which man must live or destroy himself.

Roughly speaking, Mrs Swanwick maintains in the first part of her book that the League has failed because it has tried to enforce its law by means of sanctions, and that sanctions being an inherent defect in its system are the ultimate cause of its failure The first part of her book left me dreadfully depressed though not, I am afraid, convinced. I turned to the second part, much the shorter, in the hope of finding suggestions concerning what should be done to enable the League to fulfil its essential task, that of preserving and maintaining peace. Here my disappointment became acute for Mrs. Swanwick seems to have nothing better to suggest than the organisation of collective neutrality. She regards the Non-Intervention Committee as " an experiment of immense importance." Perhaps it is, but has it succeeded ? I listened only yesterday to the opening meeting of the Nyon Conference and came away with the conviction that non-intervention not only fails to cure the disease but exacerbates it. Collective neutrality seems to be her only practical proposal Apart from that the League is to preach the doctrine that " Peace is a way of life " and that " virtue is its own reward " What is to happen to the world while the League is teaching this lesson and getting it accepted by people as wide apart as Mussolini and Mrs. Swanwick, she does not say. Of course such a doctrine is essential. Christ, the Buddha, Socrates, all preached it What success has crowned their efforts ? As is to be expected Mrs Swanwick appeals to her own sex. She has faith in women as being greater realists than men Perhaps they are, perhaps they really hate war, while men do not in their heart of hearts. I can only express the fervent hope that Mrs. Swanwick is right, and yet I remember very well on an August day in 1914 setting out to play golf on the South Downs I was sixteen and rather small for my age. A large woman presented me with a white feather. My subsequent enquiry whether she intended to have a war baby did nothing to improve our relations

I fear that Mrs. Swanwick, despite the fire and passion of her book, which will I trust secure for it the wide circulation it deserves, has left me unconvinced. We in England, on whom incidentally she has been particularly

severe, would do well, I think, to follow the advice of Mr. Wickham Steed, "to let it be known that we (the British Commonwealth) stand for liberal civilisation and that we look on representative democratic government and responsible individual freedom under laws freely made as the very foundations of the British Commonwealth. If the Governments of the British peoples were to add that they could not view with favour any attempt to overthrow what remains of democracy in Europe, I fancy that the whole outlook would soon be more hopeful. Lovers of freedom everywhere would be encouraged. The United States would be keenly interested, and the military dictatorships would pause and reflect"

These are wise words We should take them to heart.

SHORTER NOTICES

TOWN AND COUNTRY IN SOUTHERN FRANCE. By Frances Strang. *Macmillan.* 12*s* 6*d*.

THIS delightful book describes one of the most attractive countrysides in Europe in a manner which will give equal pleasure to those who already know it and to those who do not—and these latter after reading this book will be apt to repair their ignorance at the first opportunity. Mrs. Strang wastes no time on introductory generalities, but plunges *in medias res* with Le Puy-en-Velay, and fills every page with useful and/or entertaining information about the antiquities, scenery, customs, inhabitants and, not least, the incomparable food and drink of Southern France. Her son, Mr. Ian Strang, contributes forty-eight full-page illustrations, well reproduced from his clean and careful pencil drawings, which are in themselves a pleasure to the eye and which are infinitely more effective in giving an impression of the country than any photograph could have been.

A HISTORY OF EUROPE. By the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher. *Arnold.* 10*s*. 6*d*.

A FOURTH impression of 10,000 copies was recently issued of this magnificent work. The publishers are to be congratulated on making it available in one volume at this modest price, as Fisher's History can well rank as a masterpiece of historical accuracy conveyed in brilliant prose.

THE MIND IN CHAINS. Edited by C. Day Lewis. *Muller.* 5*s*.

A COLLECTION of essays by young socialists showing the evil effects of capitalism on culture and the intellectual life, and how socialism would bring new vitality and hope into the spheres of science, education, art, music, literature and so on The general effect of enthusiasm and idealism is a little exaggerated at times. All the evil in the world cannot be caused by capitalism, and there are some things that even socialism could not provide. But still, some, at least, of the arguments put forward in this book would be hard to refute, even by the most die-hard of Tories.

BOOK GUIDE

MEXICO AROUND ME. Max Miller *Chatto & Windus.* 10*s* 6*d*

AFRICAN ODYSSEY. W. Robert Foran. *Hutchinson.* 18*s*.

AFRICA AND WORLD PEACE. George Padmore *Secker & Warburg.* 7*s*. 6*d*.

AMBUSH W. E. Wynn. *Hutchinson.* 10*s*. 6*d*.

SOUTH AFRICAN CINDERELLA. Rex Hardinge. *Jenkins.* 15*s*

A FALSE UTOPIA. W. H. Chamberlin. *Duckworth.* 7*s* 6*d*

SOVIET UNDERSTANDING. Richard Terrell. *Heinemann.* 7*s*. 6*d*.

AIR DEFENCE AND THE CIVIL POPULATION. H Montgomery Hyde and G. R. Falkiner Nuttall. *Cresset Press* 12*s*. 6*d*.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE TANK. Rear-Admiral Sir Murray Sueter. *Hutchinson.* 12*s*. 6*d*.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER. C. F. Andrews *Allen & Unwin.* 3*s*. 6*d*

IMMIGRATION AND ASSIMILATION. Duncan. *Heath.* 18*s*

CLOSED FRONTIERS Dr Bruno Frank. *Macmillan.* 7*s* 6*d*.

THE FIGHT FOR PEACE R B Mowat *Arrowsmith.* 3*s*. 6*d*.

THE PAPACY AND FASCISM. F A. Ridley. *Secker & Warburg* 6*s*

PRESENT DAY MOROCCO O H. Warner. *Allen & Unwin.* 3*s* 6*d*

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Schuman. *McGraw Hill* 24*s*.

CHINA. Parts I and II F. C Jones. *Arrowsmith* 3*s*. 6*d* each

PEACEFUL CHANGE C A W. Manning. *Macmillan.* 5*s*

THE HUNGARIAN MINORITIES IN THE SUCCESSION STATES Sir Robert Gower *Grant Richards.* 2*s*. 6*d*

A WAYFARER IN ESTONIA, LATVIA AND LITHUANIA. E C Davies *Methuen* 7*s* 6*d*

GOVERNMENT IN THE THIRD REICH. Morstein Marx *McGraw Hill* 8*s* 6*d*

BY ORDER OF THE SHAH H. W. and Sidney Hay *Cassell.* 15*s*

FORTHCOMING BOOKS

THIS IS MY LIFE. Vernon Bartlett. *Chatto & Windus.* 12*s*. 6*d*.

CRISIS IN CHINA. James M. Bertram. *Macmillan.* 7*s* 6*d*.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN (His diaries, letters and papers) *Macmillan* *About* 25*s*.

GREAT BRITAIN AND PALESTINE. Herbert Sidebotham. *Macmillan.* *About* 10*s*. 6*d*.

UNTO CAESAR F A Voigt. *Constable.* *About* 12*s* 6*d*

THE JEWS Hilaire Belloc Constable. 7*s*. 6*d*.

THE UNCENSORED FAR EAST. Hessell Tiltman *Jarrold.* 12*s*. 6*d*

A MIRROR TO GENEVA George Slocombe. *Cape* 10*s* 6*d*

MOROCCO Ian D Morrow *Routledge.* *About* 12*s*. 6*d*

THE CONQUEST OF VIOLENCE. Bart de Ligt *Routledge.* 5*s*

CRIME AND RACIAL CONFLICT IN AFRICA H J Simons *Routledge.* *About* 15*s*

REZA SHAH Mohammed Essad Bey. *Hutchinson* 18*s*

LORDS OF THE EQUATOR Patrick Balfour *Hutchinson* 12*s* 6*d*

THE EUROPEAN SITUATION Sir Malcolm Campbell *Hutchinson* 3*s* 6*d*

SPANISH REHEARSAL Arnold Lunn. *Hutchinson* 10*s* 6*d*

ARMAMENTS CAUSE HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE

by "RAPIER"

THE normal seasonal slackness of markets during August and September has this year been intensified by the "Troubles," to use an Irish euphemism, in the Far East and the Mediterranean. Although officially there is no war, the successive shocks administered to markets by warlike incidents damped down the volume of trading both in London and New York to very small proportions

Meanwhile, beneath the market disturbances, indices of production, especially in Britain and the United States, continue at a high level, and the volume of international trade is increasing despite political alarms, quotas, tariffs, and exchange restrictions For example, as the National City Bank *Review* for September points out . "The world's iron and steel industries are in the midst of the greatest peace-time boom they have ever experienced. If the current rate of activity is maintained the world's steel mills may this year turn out 140,000,000 tons of steel, exceeding the previous peak outputs of around 120,000,000 tons each in 1929 and 1936 and dwarfing the pre-war output which during 1909-13 averaged only about 68,000,000 tons." Statistics of international trade show that there was an increase in volume of about five per cent. in 1935 and a further five per cent. in 1936, though even with this increase it was still 15 per cent. below 1929 levels. Increased exports of raw material-producing countries, such as the British Dominions and Colonies, the Dutch Indies and South America, must ultimately, however, lead to increased imports by these countries. In many cases these countries had first to liquidate arrears of debt incurred during the world slump, but this is rapidly being achieved. A firm of London stockbrokers estimates that in 1936 the net imports of creditor countries rose by £160,000,000 and are likely to rise even higher this year. This abnormal excess cannot continue indefinitely and must be remedied either by a restriction of imports from debtor countries or an increase of exports to them The latter solution appears the most likely in view of the continued high level of industrial production in the creditor countries.

With such a comparatively bright outlook in prospect why do the markets of the world hesitate? First, there is the ever recurrent threat of war, and, secondly, the feeling that world economic recovery is unsoundly based upon feverish re-armament. The latter reservation applies particularly to Germany, where the pace of re-armament has undoubtedly strained the country's

finances and lowered the standard of living of its people. Italy, with its finances drained by the Abyssinian war, is in worse shape, and the lack of consumers' goods is being severely felt by the working classes. Japan, which had already strained its finances by the Manchurian adventure, has now added the burden of the Chinese imbroglio, and has recently voted a supplementary budget of £120,000,000 to its already heavy load, all of which must be raised by borrowing

France is slowly and hesitatingly emerging from the financial crisis caused by the too rapid application of the reforms imposed by *l'expérience Blum*. Confidence has not yet been fully restored, and though the flight of capital has been partially checked, there are no signs of any inflow. A real trade revival can alone solve France's budgetary difficulties, and revival is so far only partial.

The United States still carries a heavy budget deficit but trade revival shows but little signs of ebbing though its expansion seems unable to absorb the deficit without an increase of taxation. At the moment, however, domestic politics are a depressing factor both in business and on Wall Street where opposition to the New Deal remains as strong as ever. The business community lacks confidence in Washington and fears the next move by the President, now that his proposals for the reform of the Supreme Court have been vetoed. While the farmers' purchasing power has been increased by good harvests, this is unlikely to be reflected in higher industrial earnings owing to increased cost of labour. Manufacturers have already been compelled to raise prices of motor cars and other goods and this has scared off buyers.

On the whole the world appears to be progressing in much better shape than seemed possible a few years ago, at the depth of the slump. But there are, as I have pointed out, obvious stresses and strains in the world economic structure which make many observers fear that the whole machine may suddenly collapse. Economists, too, have been warning us recently that there is such a thing as the trade cycle, and that Britain, where recovery started first, may be already at the peak if not already on the downswing. It is encouraging, however, to read in the September issue of *Lloyds Bank Review* an article from the Cambridge economist Mr. D. H Robertson, in which he takes the view that there are at present no grounds for "Panic in the midst of Prosperity." If this is true of Britain it should be even more so of those countries where trade revival lagged many months behind our own, such as America Apart then from wars or revolutions, the incidence of which no man can forecast, there appears a fair prospect of a continuance of good trade for some time ahead

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

MEDITERRANEAN

August 17. British warships ordered to attack any submarine attacking a British merchant ship

" 20. Mussolini, speaking during the army manoeuvres in Sicily, said recent relations with England were due to a great misunderstanding. His conditions for Italian collaboration in settlement of European difficulties were recognition of Italy's conquest of Abyssinia, and the exclusion of Bolshevism from the Mediterranean

" 23. Valencia Government, in a Note to the League, accused Italy of attacking Spanish ships Further attacks on ships registered as British reported.

" 24. H M S *Keith* at Santander to take off remaining members of Basque Government, hostages and British subjects

" 26 Santander surrendered

" 27 Italian Press devoted to glorification of part played by Italian legionaries in capture of Santander Franco sent telegram of thanks to Mussolini, who replied in same tone Italian casualties given as 2,000

" 31 France, incensed at open Italian admission of intervention, intimated that she wanted to raise the question at the next meeting of the Non-Intervention Committee

September 1 H M S. *Havock* attacked by a submarine

" 2. In view of attacks, British Government decided to send more destroyers to the Mediterranean British tanker sunk

" 3. British proposed Mediterranean Conference to stop piracy. Ten countries, including Russia and Germany, invited to the Conference at Nyon Russia sent strong Note to Italy accusing her of being the pirate who is sinking merchantmen Great indignation in Rome Germany recalled the refusal of Britain to agree to common action after attacks on German warships, and expressed dislike of attending Conference in company with Russia. Attacks on British ships attributed in Italy and Germany to Russian submarines.

September 8. Germany and Italy declined to attend at Nyon owing to Russia's action, and proposed referring matter of piracy to Non-Intervention Committee.
British Government chartered ship to rescue refugees now in foreign Embassies in Madrid

" 10. Nyon Conference opened. Strong attack on Italy made by Litvinoff. Proposed that zones be patrolled by different States, including Russia

" 11 First proposal dropped. Agreed that trade routes be patrolled by British and French, with Russia confined to the Black Sea, and Italy allotted a zone if she was willing

" 14 Nyon Agreement signed. Italy refused to take part in control scheme, on the grounds that the zone offered (the Tyrrhenian Sea, between Italy and Sardinia) does not constitute equality for Italy with Britain and France.

CHINA

August 18 Japan rejected British proposal for exclusion of Shanghai from field of war

" 23 About 50,000 more Japanese troops arrived at Shanghai. Several hundreds killed by bomb on a shop in the International Settlement.

" 25 Japanese advance reported round Peking. A 1,000-mile blockade of Chinese coast by Japan proclaimed.

" 26. Sir Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen, British Ambassador, wounded by bomb from Japanese aeroplane, while motoring between Nanking and Shanghai

" 29 British Note sent to Japan, strongly deploring the lack of observance of international rules which led to wounding of the Ambassador, and demanding an apology and punishment of the offenders. The Japanese Government promised to investigate the matter

" 29. Five-year pact of non-aggression signed by China and Russia.

" 30. American liner bombed by Chinese by mistake, wounding seven.

September 5. British, French and American admirals requested the Shanghai combatants to move further away from the International Settlement.

" 6 Largest war budget in Japanese history, with supplementary estimate amounting to £118,950,000, voted in special session of the Japanese Diet

" -11 Japanese Note stated that they had been unable to trace the identity of airmen who bombed the Ambassador.

" 12. *et seq* Japanese captured Machang, first important success in North China Chinese reported driven out of Chahar

GENEVA

August 23 Mandates Commission's report on Palestine, while not rejecting partition, recommends a preliminary regime of cantonisation

September 13 League Assembly opened Both Chinese and the Spanish Governments have appealed, Chin voking aid under three Artic the Covenant.

PORTUGAL

August 19. Diplomatic relations with Cz slovakia broken off by Port on grounds that the former failed to deliver arms or from Czech munition work instructions from Russia.

GERMANY

August 19. Congress of the Foreign Org tion of the National So Party opened at Stuttgart. Spe by leaders on the duties and of Germans living abroad.

September 7 *to* 13. Over a quarter-of-a-million at Ninth Party Congress at Nu berg The British Ambas accepted invitation to attenc the first time. Renewed cla colonies, solidarity with Italy aims in Spain the high-spo Hitler's various speeches

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VERNON BARTLETT

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by PATRICK BALFOUR.

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CONTENTS

Continued on page 4

CONTENTS—*continued*.

CONTENTS—continued.

PAGE

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END OR BEGINNING?

by VERNON BARTLETT

A LITTLE more than a year ago I set out with considerable trepidation for Madrid. The day before I left London a prominent official at the Foreign Office assured me that the city would have fallen long before I got there. A few weeks later ninety-nine people out of a hundred were convinced that the city was doomed. When I returned there in February a table in a café in the Puerta del Sol was ironically still reserved for General Franco who had announced in November that he would take his coffee there the next day. Presumably some German or Italian shell or bomb has by now destroyed that humiliating proof of the danger of counting chickens before they are hatched. But the war still drags on and the Spanish people pay the price of this world conflict of ideologies. What will be the result of this horrible and long drawn-out affair?

For one thing, the ideologies are disappearing in the background. More and more, as was the case in the so-called Great War, the enthusiasm which at first gave the struggle grandeur and magnificence has died down, and, in its place, comes the struggle for material benefit. Herr Hitler now talks openly of his need for Spanish ores. British reactionaries have lost a lot of their enthusiasm for General Franco, not because they have at last realised that the government against which he rebelled was, in fact, a perfectly normal and legally

elected government, but because they fear that he is too much in the hands of people whose threats to the British Empire become daily more pronounced.

The Mediterranean situation has by now so degenerated that British naval strategists take it for granted that, in the event of war, we should have to send most of our shipping round by the Cape of Good Hope.

* * *

" Every cloud is silver lined," or so I used to sing when I was a boy. There are certain advantages in the way in which the civil war drags on. The Spanish people are, unknowingly and sometimes unwillingly, putting democracy back on the map. Had General Franco occupied Madrid a year ago, before the Spanish government had begun to build up a People's Army and before Russian military support had arrived, his gratitude to Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini would have been such that they could have got almost all they wanted for the asking and it would have taken years before the Spanish people begrudged them their acquisitions. Now that anti-foreign movement which our Foreign Office has all along predicted has become almost a certainty. There are, in Franco Spain, aerodromes where the whole personnel from the most impressive commanding officer to the humblest mechanic is German. There are villages which nobody without an Italian pass may enter. Sooner or later the Spanish traditional contempt for all foreigners will cause generals on both sides to forget their differences and to unite against the alien.

And when that day comes we shall find that despite the increasing power of the old aristocracy at the expense of the *Falangistas*, with their naïve but (to Spaniards) new National Socialist ideas, Spain bears very little resemblance to the Spain of 1936. Peasants and artisans who have graduated from shabby civilian clothes via overalls known as " monos " to military uniforms are not going to forget how to march and to handle their rifles. The analphabetism which is so severe a condemnation of the old regime will have been impressively diminished. And peasants who are becoming their own masters will not be driven back to serfdom unless by a tyranny no Spanish reactionary government could enforce without foreign aid.

On the other side the Negrin government, unless it receives too many rebuffs from abroad, should soon be strong enough to deal

once and for all with the wild men of the C.N.T., those anarchists who have so long been the enemies of a united Spain strong enough to play a part in Europe consonant with her great past. The reopening of churches—some, still not many—in Madrid and Valencia, and the return of many political exiles to Valencia, have not received in Great Britain the notice which they deserved. Spain is slowly but astonishingly reversing the normal procedure and changing from an autocracy into a democracy in the middle of a civil war. Should this process continue, the blood will not have been shed in vain, for the survivors will be of sterner fibre than the Spaniards of 1936. And, poor devils, they will need to be, for their beautiful country has now for over a year been a battlefield.

* * *

And what about the international aspect? An immediate Franco victory would have justified Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini in claiming that, at fantastically little cost to their own countries, they had won the first great battle of the next world war. They would have procured submarine bases, minerals, strategic positions in the Mediterranean which—if you think war can ever be worth while—it would have been worth fighting a long war to gain. And the fighting would have been done by Spaniards, Moors, a few thousand unfortunate unemployed who were driven or bribed to join the Italian legionaries, and a few dozen aeroplanes and guns.

But the toughness of the Spanish rabble who pulled up the paving stones of Madrid to build barricades, stiffened by an odd jumble of volunteers, politicians rather than soldiers, who had joined up in the International Brigade, have changed all that. They have caused so great a drain on the resources of Italy and Germany (and, indeed, of Russia as well) that any victory gained in Spain will have been won only at extravagant cost. How can Italy continue to pay for large armies of occupation in Spain as well as Abyssinia? How can Germany, with her terrible shortage of foreign currency, afford to pour in shells and bombs for very much longer even though she obtain valuable minerals in return? How can Russia continue to send aeroplanes to Valencia when they are needed so desperately in China, a country whose independence is far more important to Stalin than that of Spain?

The truth, I believe, is that we are nearing either the end of the

Spanish war or the beginning of a new world war. Either Italy will withdraw her troops in a few weeks or months, making the best bargain she can in the process (and she could, certainly and easily, obtain the international recognition of her ownership of Abyssinia with conceivably a few credits to help her to develop that territory) or she and Germany will have plunged so much deeper into the affair that no conceivable British or French government will be able to stand by inactive.

* * *

Troubles certainly never come singly. There could be no more unfortunate time than the present for indiscriminate bombing of Chinese cities by Japanese aeroplanes. Now, as at no other moment since the foreign intervention in Spain began, it is important that the pressure of public opinion should be strongly behind the British government to check all this backsliding which is neither valorous nor discreet. But that public opinion is far more interested in action against Japan. And yet the whole effect of the Nyon Conference will be wasted and worse than wasted unless we can prove that the measures taken to restore respect for law were part of a policy and not merely an incident. The first step to save China from Japan must be taken in the Mediterranean. The symptoms of the disease from which Italy, Germany and Japan are suffering are exactly the same and the cure can most easily be undertaken in Spain, for there no question arises about the participation of the United States.

Of the American administration's attitude there can be no doubt. Mr. Cordell Hull has dropped hint after hint that his country would follow a British lead, or rather, would go side by side with the British. And President Roosevelt, speaking in the main city of the Middle West, has dealt a blow at the policy of isolation which is either amazingly rash or amazingly courageous But the reactions of the great North American continent must inevitably be slower than those of Great Britain and it would be asking a lot of the Americans to expect them to amend in a few weeks a neutrality law which has been for so few months on the statute book and took so long to get there.

And this fact singularly complicates the problem of bringing international pressure against Japan. British investments in China are roughly six times as great as those of the United States. The British readiness to run risks to protect these investments is not corre-

spondingly greater, for there are the "imponderables" such as the Californian's fear of Japanese encroachment and the flouted American sense of justice and decency to consider. But the British have the strongest material reasons for wishing to check Japan while the Americans have the strongest weapons with which to do the checking—in 1935 some twenty-four per cent. of all Japanese import trade and sixteen per cent. of all her export trade was with the United States. The stopping of that commerce would go a very long way towards stopping the war. Economic sanctions, then, would involve far greater sacrifices for the United States than for ourselves, and we shall do well, in considering the possibilities of restoring order in a chaos which is largely of our own making, to remember that fact.

* * *

These articles have often been depressing, but not, I fear, needlessly so. The drift towards the present crisis has been obvious to any observer for years. The man who watches a punt sweeping towards a weir has no right not to call out a warning because the punt's passengers are blissfully unconscious of what is coming to them.

But now that the dangers are becoming so apparent to everybody, that there is so widespread a realisation that peace will only be won if great powers accept great responsibilities, we can afford to be optimistic. We made it clear at Nyon that we would take action against pirates and piracy ceased. Were we to explain honestly and frankly to Signor Mussolini that we cannot and will not allow him to go on breaking his own non-intervention pledges, he would almost certainly pull out of the Spanish adventure, for the strategic position of his people (with well over a hundred thousand Italians in Abyssinia entirely dependent upon supplies through the Suez Canal, and at least seventy-five thousand and a lot of valuable war material in Spain) is almost unbelievably bad.

There has been, during the last few weeks, a shameful revival of the policy of talking big and then acting small. The hesitation to open the Franco-Spanish frontier after saying so clearly we should do so is not only a first-class act of cowardice but also a first-class blunder. But circumstances, thank God, may drive us towards the realisation that honesty in international affairs is the best policy and cowardice is certainly the worst.

BENITO MUSSOLINI—

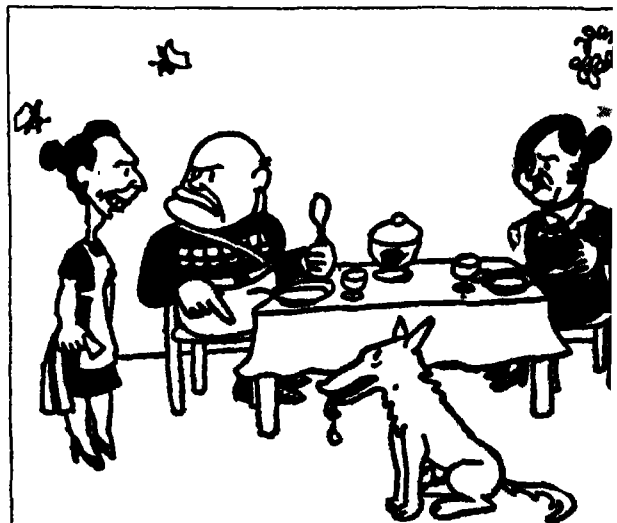
[The event depicted here took place some time ago, as things move today, but we feel these gems should be preserved for our readers.]

"Go on, *smile*, can't you!"

"After you, sir, after you!"

"Brennessel," Berlin

Canard Enchaîné," Paris.

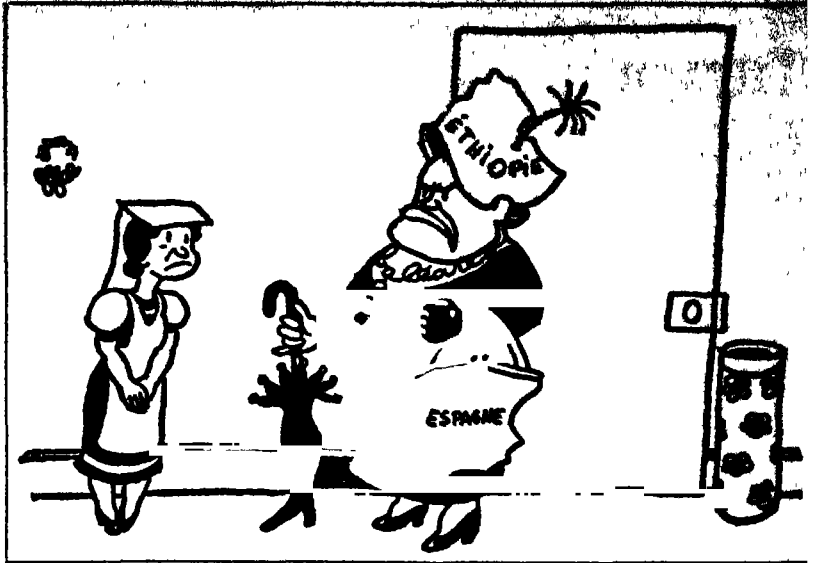
What, no result! What about my appointment as honorary Fascist Corporal?"

"Le Canard Enchaîné," P

LOVE ME, LOVE MY DOG.

"What about a nice bone for my she-wolf?"

—CHEZ ADOLF HITLER—

"Madame is sure to make a great hit with her beautiful hat and new handbag"

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

"Marianne," Paris.

"Now, remember, you are to serve Spain with the tea, and hand round the Balearics with the port."

DEMOCRACY MARCHES ON

"On December 12 Russians will enjoy the taste of a democratic election. The Communist Party continues to remain the sole political party."—News Chronicle, October 13

The Soviet, reckoned till of late
A somewhat arbitrary State,
Lets loose, rejoicing, on the polls,
Her millions of enfranchised souls
To taste a democratic thrill
In registering their sovereign will,
And ratify in Stalin's grip
The working-class dictatorship.

Democracy has freedom new
When guaranteed by GPU
Which countermines with secret stealth
The weevils of the Commonwealth,
And tirelessly circumvents
All deleterious elements,
Till, opposition being suppressed,
Electors freely choose the rest.

Enfeebled by the needless fight
Whether to vote for Left or Right,
Democracy has not begun
While parties number more than one.
By Russia's democratic feat
Of unanimity complete,
No other end can be foreseen
But further terms for J. Stalin.

By such example, should not we
Cure our effete democracy,
And like the Russians, who acclaim
As one, their Little Father's name,
Confirm our best (and only) choice
With free totalitarian voice,
And thus, for life at least, retain
Our Little Father Chamberlain?

REYNARD.

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

All the world likes to read gossip about other people. Unlike film stars, neither statesmen nor diplomats hire publicity agents to tell the world their taste in toothpaste or their views on the modern girl. Hence the little human eccentricities that lurk behind the imposing figures officially presented to the world are seldom known. These personal notes aim at giving flesh and blood to the men whose names appear so often in our political articles

Press Stars in Paris

IN the French press, perhaps more than in any other, foreign politics are the close preserve of a few big names. As these writers are often quoted in London newspapers, this article is intended as a guide to their identities and to the opinions held about them in Paris.

One of the best known and best informed is " Pertinax," the Diplomatic Correspondent of the conservative *Echo de Paris*, whose occasional collaboration with Madame Tabouis of the *Œuvre* was referred to in these pages last month.

" Pertinax," whose real name is André Géraud, is a genial Frenchman in the fifties, much liked in diplomatic circles, with a gift for conversation and the expression of downright views. Oddly enough, " Pertinax " is not a pseudonym chosen by Géraud himself but the proprietary signature of the *Echo de Paris* for its diplomatic column. The idea of using pseudonyms developed largely in France during the War when most journalists, as serving soldiers, were debarred from writing under their own names.

Pranks on a Professor

In his youth Géraud studied under Professor Durckheim, the famous economist. Politically Durckheim was a pronounced anti-clerical and opponent of the Right. One of Géraud's first journalistic exploits was to send out invitations in Durckheim's name to his chief political enemies and to have the news of the forthcoming party published in the local press. The party, if it ever came off, was presumably not a success.

Before the War, Géraud was the London Correspondent of the *Echo de Paris* and took over the Diplomatic Correspondence in 1917. In addition, he is a contributor to the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Baltimore Sun*, *Europe Nouvelle* and a Japanese Agency. Last year he made a lecture tour in the United States, but neither the lectures themselves nor the articles on America which he wrote subsequently, came up to expectations.

Independent and Incorruptible

Frenchmen are unanimous in crediting " Pertinax " with complete honesty, and his views are not always those of his paper. His articles are clear, precise and rather drily worded. But they show at a glance that the writer knows his subject and that his information, gleaned from many sources, is reflected against a background of wide reading. Thanks to an elaborate system of files, mainly containing cuttings from the *Times*, he has the whole of post-War foreign politics at his finger-tips.

Critic of Britain

Until quite recently " Pertinax " was violently opposed to British policy on the grounds that our support for the Peace Treaties was too limp. In " Pertinax's " view the security of Europe required nothing short of an Anglo-French defensive alliance ; but, now that Germany's breach of Locarno has thrown us into each other's lap, he is less inclined to lecture the British and, contrary to the views of his own newspaper, strongly upholds the Popular Front's policy of *rapprochement* with England.

" Pertinax " never goes in for sensations unless well founded. Otherwise he is reputed to get them tried out by Madame Tabouis first.

Pianist and Word-Painter

Jules Auguste Sauerwein, star reporter of *Paris-Soir* and French " Knickerbocker," is quite another cup of tea. An artist in words, he writes articles full of imaginative colour. His pen drips phrases with a facility which relieves him from the necessity of adhering to only one point of view. He often goes on roving commissions and has lately visited the Spanish war.

In private life Sauerwein has a *penchant* for philosophy and has

translated a number of works from the German. He is also a brilliant pianist and one of the few conversationalists who can hold a table spellbound.

From Counting House to Centre Page

Beginning life as a bank clerk, he obtained his first journalistic post through his brother's friendship with Bunau Varilla, proprietor of the *Matin*. At the outbreak of the War, he was the *Matin* Correspondent in Vienna and a few years later was appointed Diplomatic Correspondent. Shortly afterwards he became Foreign News Editor and remained at this post until 1931 when a disagreement with the proprietor led to his resignation. A year later he flashed into the front page of *Paris-Soir*, and the minor sparks from his pen illuminate the *New York Times*.

The Aristocrat of the Typewriter

Cultured, if a little wordy, Count Wladimir d'Ormesson, who is just under forty, came late to journalism and is still regarded as an amateur by his colleagues. His family belong to the *noblesse de robe* created under the later Bourbons for services rendered in the legal profession. The Count's brother is the French Ambassador at Rio de Janeiro.

D'Ormesson's first success in life was to marry a Mexican lady whose great wealth enabled him to follow his own bents. Always interested in foreign affairs, he studied a number of questions intimately and wrote books, of which the following are the best known : *La Confiance en Allemagne ?*, *Nos Illusions sur l'Europe Centrale*, *Enfances Diplomatiques*, *Dans la Nuit Européenne*, *La Révolution Allemande* and *Lyautey*. At one time he worked under Lyautey in Morocco and became a fervent admirer of the great French General and administrator.

The Psychology of Politics

Although d'Ormesson was already well known as a contributor to Reviews, it was only seven years ago that he began to write regularly for the *Temps* and the *Journal de Genève*. For the last three years he has been Diplomatic Correspondent of the conservative *Figaro*, which has gained much in prestige since its recent reorganisation.

Without the terseness of "Pertinax," d'Ormesson allows his

feelings a freer rein. His articles are based more on psychology than on fact. Some people reproach him for making his comments too personal, but there is no doubting his intellectual honesty and balance. In general, he reflects the ways of thinking current in the diplomatic circles in which he has mostly lived rather than those of the newspaper world.

The Royalist Touch

Another noble family is represented in French journalism by Saint Brice, whose real name is Louis de Saint Victor de Saint Blancard. He began his career in 1900 as secretary to Hanotaux, then Diplomatic Correspondent of the Right-wing *Journal.* Seven years later Hanotaux resigned and for thirty years Saint Brice has reigned in his stead.

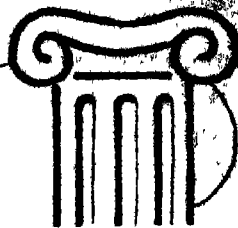
Educated at the Ecole des Sciences Politiques in Paris, he emerged a supporter of the ideals championed by the *Action Francaise* and was for long a great admirer of Charles Maurras, the brilliant royalist leader-writer, who was imprisoned last year for inciting to attack Léon Blum. Saint Brice is also a contributor to the *Revue Universelle* and to the *Correspondence d'Orient.*

Feeding the Big Public

The *Petit Parisien*, the newspaper with the largest circulation in France, has as its Diplomatic Correspondent Lucien Bourguès, a reliable if slightly pedestrian writer. Born in Russia, where his father was an agent for champagne, Bourguès lived there until the Revolution and in the succeeding years was engaged in looking after refugees. In 1922 he entered journalism as assistant to Julien, then *Petit Parisien* Diplomatic Correspondent and succeeded to the latter's post on his death 12 years later.

Bourguès is a student of history, in which he took his university degree, and in his spare time dabbles with writing music. But his diplomatic articles suffer from the dully informative note imposed on him by his newspaper.

HARD LINES ON GARBO

A film fan magazine reveals that Garbo is more than annoyed because a manufacturer announces Garb-O, a sanitary lining for garbage cans.—*Wall Street Journal.*

GERMANY IN AFRICA
Natives who Prefer Teutons

by PATRICK BALFOUR

In this section we publish, without necessarily sharing the views they express, articles by men who are particularly qualified to speak on some aspect of international affairs. Mr. Patrick Balfour (author of "Lords of the Equator") recently returned from a tour of some of the ex-German colonies, and is able to give a first-hand account of conditions there, which throws light on the comparatively favourable attitude of sections in the Union of South Africa towards the question of Germany's return to Africa*

GERMANY was the last of the European Powers to enter the colonial field. Nearly a hundred years before the Congress of Berlin, in 1885, Great Britain had established her first African colony. Ten years before it King Leopold, with the aid of Stanley and in the name of Belgium, had established his right to the Congo. France, though she was behindhand with their administration, already possessed large tracts of the North and West before Germany claimed and was allotted her share of the African spoils. The Germans were the last, and therefore the least experienced, of the Imperialists.

Thirty years later, by the outbreak of the Great War, a considerable section of their Empire was still undeveloped. They had committed all the usual excesses and all the usual errors. The graft and brutalities of a certain type of colonist had earned universal censure, which extended to the Reichstag itself. The greater part of the Cameroons was still unpacified. The last of the native revolts in Tanganyika had only recently been quashed. Ruanda-Urundi (which is now under Belgian mandate) was still virtually unoccupied.

Other sections of German territory, however, had grown peaceful

* *See Review on p. 84*

and prosperous. German settlers were profitably established in the Kilimanjaro highlands of Tanganyika and the cultivation of sisal, now its principal export, was beginning in the plains. In the west the rich plantation districts on the slopes of the Cameroon Mountain (now under British mandate) harboured a thriving and industrious community. Here Germany was beginning to learn her colonial lesson, to develop her colonial system. Here, rather than in the districts which were still in the throes of a military pacification, is it fairest to judge of the nature of that system and of the native reaction towards it.

The attitude of the African to his pre-war German masters must inevitably be difficult to gauge. It is qualified by a natural desire to please his questioner and a natural mistrust of interrogation. It is limited by his inability to reason. The African is naturally a Conservative. He dislikes the prospect of change. He is, on the other hand, adaptable, and tends to accept the *fait accompli* of a new order without undue dislocation to his system. The younger African does not remember the pre-war regime. But the older African does.

His memory of the German, in what is now the British Cameroons, is not unfavourable. When the German planters returned to the country in 1925 they were welcomed by quantities of old askaris who wished to work for them. At the time of my visit, a few months ago, my host was embarrassed by the abrupt departure of his principal servant who, hearing that his old German master had returned, had left, without notice, to rejoin him. In so far as it is possible to generalise, the older generation of Cameroon native preferred the German regime, while the younger prefers the British or French.

He preferred it, firstly, because of its decisive methods. A certain native, questioned as to his preference, replied :

"The German comes. He says he wants to cut down the sacred grove of our ancestors to make a road. We protest at the desecration of our ancestors' tombs. But the German cuts down the gr0ve. He makes the road. And when we have the road we find it a benefit to us, to take our goods to market.

"The Frenchman comes. He says he wants to cut down the sacred grove of our ancestors to make a road. We protest. The Frenchman cuts down the grove. But he does not make the road."

The quotation is perhaps unfair to the French, who in recent

years have improved the Cameroons with an admirable road system. It illuminates, nevertheless, the character of the German regime. The German may have been ruthless. But at least he was consistent. You knew where you were with him because he did what he said he would.

Individual Germans were brutal, but they did not typify the regime. Among the older natives there is less condemnation of German brutality than praise for German strength. The German was a disciplinarian, but on the whole he was a just one, and as such he was respected. The younger generation is subjected to no such discipline. The contract system which obliged plantation labourers to sign on for a definite period is abolished. The men are free to work or not, as they feel inclined, and with the abolition of corporal punishment there is little or no redress for dishonest or incompetent workmanship. Native families complain that whereas before the war their men returned from the plantations with a tidy sum in cash, today they return too often empty-handed. The German planter complains that the system deprives him of any permanent or responsible supply of labour. The older generation complains that the young are indolent and demoralised. They laze and misbehave with impunity. They go to school and strut about in European clothes and swell the ranks of the educated unemployed, too proud to work with their hands as their fathers worked in the German days.

The "Trousered Nigger"

The German would like to curtail this class of "trousered niggers," maintaining that a practical rather than a clerical education would better serve the interests of a predominantly agricultural community. He would make the native work, maintaining that only thus can he learn responsibility and self-respect. He would reinstate corporal punishment, maintaining that the native is not yet sufficiently evolved to understand any other. Whatever the effects of such a policy in Nazi hands it should provide little cause for misgiving in the hands of the typical German at present farming in the Cameroons. The German need for raw materials, on the other hand, might lead to further alienation of native lands, and this is a prospect which even the older generation views with some uneasiness.

The native attitude in Tanganyika is, broadly speaking, the

same. By 1914 the plantation labourer there was receiving a fair deal from the Germans and since the tax was smaller and life was cheaper he was relatively richer than he is today. When the Germans returned after the war he returned willingly to work for them.

The situation here, however, is complicated by two factors. The first is the development, under the British, of native as opposed to European cultivation, designed to assist the economic independence of the African. The second is the introduction by the British of indirect or native rule.

The first policy would doubtless be continued by the Germans. Certain tribes have always been and would always remain too independent to work on European plantations, and their economic value can best be developed by native cultivation. Cotton can never be a European crop, sisal can never be a native crop, and there is room for both. The only competitive bone of contention is coffee, and the recent riots have raised the question as to whether its cultivation can yet be regarded as a wholly economic proposition for the native.

Black Class Distinctions

The system of indirect rule, on the other hand, tends to divide native opinion into two camps. In the first are the chiefs, who foresee the loss of their authority in the event of its abolition, and the educated native, employed in the native administrations, Government offices and business houses, who fears from a more reactionary German policy a decline in his new-found social standing. Indirect rule is apt to create a class distinction between native rulers and ruled, with the rulers on the side of the mandate and the ruled inclining to the more classless system which prevailed under the Germans. The bush native, whose educational opportunities are small, is apt to be relegated to the mercies of his chiefs and to feel himself neglected by the Government. In the event of an unprejudiced plebiscite he would tend to vote for German rule.

In either camp the Tanganyika native is apt to be perplexed by the advanced and enlightened system of government which prevails under the mandate, and particularly by its system of justice.

" Before the war," he says, " if I did wrong my German master beat me, and that was that. Today if I do wrong there is long palaver in the courts, and perhaps I go to prison or perhaps I am not punished

at all, which I do not understand. It was better before. My German master was stronger than my British master."

The African is still a child, who is more at ease under a stern than under an indulgent parent. He is insufficiently evolved to rate altruism at its proper worth and is apt to mistake it for weakness. Germany, if she returned to Africa, would put back his clock. Geneva's policy is to put it forward. The tendency of each is to jump the hands too far. If a reliable census of native opinion were possible, which it is not, it would indicate the desirability of a compromise. It does the growing child no more service to treat him as though he were already at man's estate than to treat him as though he were still in the cradle.

The Germans are Back

Meanwhile Germans abound in their ex-colonies. The British Cameroons is, in everything but administration, a German colony. Its German population varies between 250 and 300. The British population, accounting for the whole of the administration and their families, does not exceed sixty. Tiko, in the mangrove swamps east of Victoria, is an entirely German port, without even a resident British official.

Across the frontier, the French, after the war, took care to snap up all the ex-German land worth having, paying compensation in paper marks and allowing virtually no opportunity of repurchase. Thus the German population of the French Cameroons, a territory five times as large as the British, does not today exceed fifty. The British, on the other hand, continued to administer their ex-German plantations under Government supervision until 1925, when they were put up to auction in London. There were no bidders. The following year, at a second auction, all the plantations were resold to an agent of the Reich, representing their former proprietors, for the sum which they had been paid in compensation after the war. The Germans flowed back into the territory, where their numbers have been slowly increasing. Twelve out of the thirteen big plantations, of cocoa, rubber, palm-oil and bananas, are now in their hands, and the cultivation of bananas has been increased to a considerable extent.

In Tanganyika the Germans were unable to repurchase so much of their land. The majority of the plantations were sold after the

war, at rock bottom prices, to Indians, Greeks and others. But Germans soon returned in large numbers. Today, with a population of 3,000, they account for a third of the European population, considerably outnumbering the British settlers.

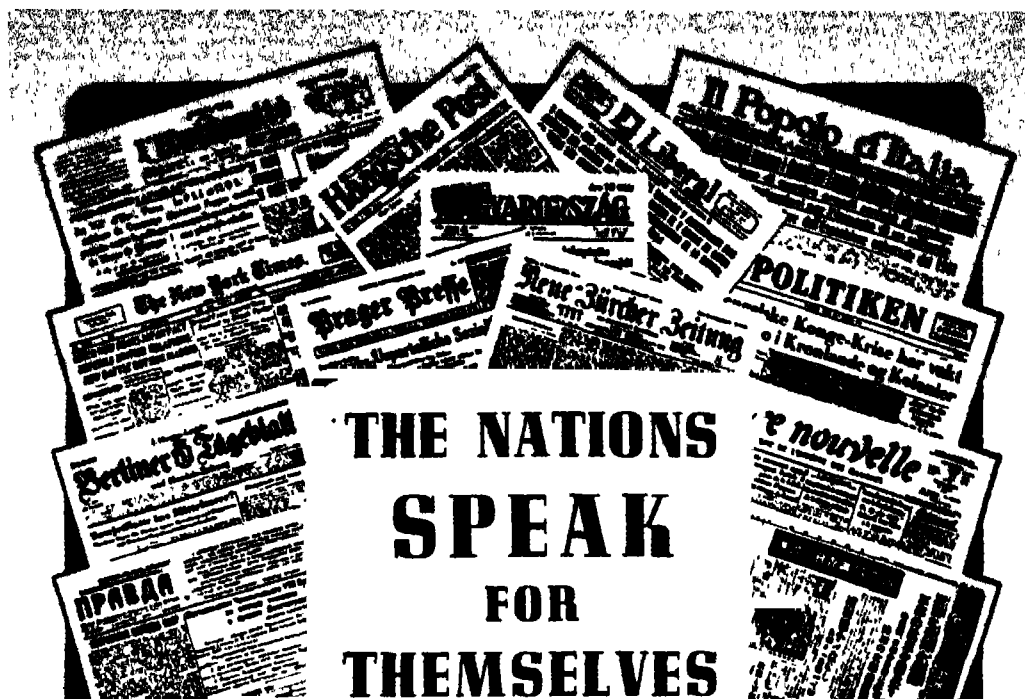
They are of various classes, many have acquired coffee plantations, large or small, in the Kilimanjaro highlands and elsewhere. Others plant tea or engage in mixed farming in the south. Others are representatives of the German trading companies which exploit the big sisal plantations in the plains. Some even work as managers for the Indians and Greeks who purchased their old plantations.

They enjoy varying degrees of prosperity, from the salaried employee with a bare living wage to the better paid representative of a trading concern, from the " peasant " settler to the " baron " of a flourishing estate. The more indigent are financed by German Government companies and make no secret of their desire for a change in the mandate. The more prosperous are not on the whole discontented with the present regime; while the majority of the Germans in Tanganyika profess outward loyalty to the Nazi cause, an important minority view the prospect of a change of mandate with considerable misgiving.

SIGNATURE TUNE

The old song *Du Kannst Nicht Treu Sein* (" You Can't Be Faithful ") became immensely popular in connection with Mussolini's visit. This new vogue was started by the well-known Munich comedian, Weiss Ferdl, who has been sent twice already to the Dachau concentration camp as a result of his courageous satires and political allusions to certain leaders of the Third Reich. A few days before the arrival of Mussolini in Munich, Weiss Ferdl as a " lecturer " announced that he wanted to prepare his listeners for the imminent visit of the Duce and invited them to sing the Italian National Anthem, " known throughout the world." Seeing that his invitation found no echo in the hall he then proposed singing " You Can't Be Faithful " instead. Everyone joined in with great gusto.—*Journal des Nations, Geneva.*

NORDIC JACK AND JILL

Quite a number of our favourite nursery songs came from Scandinavia. " Jack and Jill," for instance, was an old folk-tale. There were two children called Hjuki, meaning " to increase," and Bil, meaning " to dissolve." They represented the ebb and flow of the tides. One day they were caught up by Mani, the Moon, as they were taking water from the well. Even today the Swedish peasant-folk maintain that they can see a boy and girl in the Moon and that they are carrying a bucket between them.—*Natal Mercury.*

SPAIN—A NEW PHASE

BLACK POINTS

by EMIL VANDERVELDE (*Belgian Socialist leader*)
From "La Dépêche de Toulouse"

IT would be useless to try and ignore the fact that at the present moment all those who follow events in Spain with passionate interest as we do have very serious reasons to be anxious.

From the military point of view things are not going well on the whole. From the political point of view, even inside the Popular Front, things are going even worse. The other day I received a visit from a friend just back from Spain. He had been there since July, 1936. He is an observer in whom one can have confidence. He knows what war is, having taken part in it in 1914. He is better qualified than anyone to judge a political situation, being or having been, himself a politician to his finger tips. He gave me his impressions and I have to admit they were not very rosy. And since then many other messages have come to confirm his.

As far as the military situation is concerned we are no longer in the days of an improvised militia, which, as a French journalist wrote, "knew how to die but not how to fight." The Republican army, or, more accurately, armies, are strong. They will hold out, and continue to hold out and even to advance around Madrid or in Aragon if the present equilibrium between the contending forces is not upset. But Madrid is not everything. Aragon is not everything. There is the Northern Front. There is Gijon. There is Asturias. And the most deliberate optimists cannot ignore the fact that if in those parts, in a few days or weeks, the last islands of Republican resistance were to be submerged, the armies of Franco and his allies would turn to other fronts, just as in 1917, after the collapse of the Russian Front, the German armies flowed back towards France. However, even that might not be enough to make the Fascists win. But there are not many weeks left before winter. Franco and his foreign accomplices know that it would not suit them for operations to stop, or be slowed up, during the bad season. They must be anxious to strike hard at once, with the hope of making an end to it. And after that, if, as is thought and feared in Spanish governmental circles, Mussolini, more or less supported by Hitler, decides to send reinforcements, not in small detachments but in entire divisions perfectly equipped, will all the heroism of the Republicans prevent their being crushed at last?

The Ranks are Split

There we have, though with many "ifs," reasons enough for fear. But, alas, there are other, less conjectural, ones. And indeed it would be the most dangerous, ostrich-like policy to close one's eyes to the deplorable dissensions between republicans, socialists, communists and libertarians which, at the present moment, according to all the evidence, are having a depressing effect on the morale, not only of civilians but of the army.

I have in my hands a circular addressed to the executive committee of the Spanish Socialist party by the Madrid section. They have not tried to conceal the fact that it was written under the direct inspiration of "Leftists" like our comrades Largo Caballero, Araquistain and Pascal Toma. Moreover, there seems to be no doubt that it expresses sentiments that are current in syndicalist

circles, both "anarchist" and socialist. And this document is from one end to the other nothing but a diatribe against the Communist International, against its Spanish section, in short, against a policy for which they hold Valencia entirely responsible and which they denounce in these terms :—

> " A policy of disunion, a spectacular policy, which has cost rivers of blood without strategical results—such is the policy of the Communist Party in Spain. What does this party propose and where will this disastrous policy lead us ? If we were as suspicious as the Communists we would fear that these tactics of degradation and demoralisation of the front and the rear, or the useless waste of lives and of war materials, had no other end but to create moral and material conditions of discouragement and impotence leading to a defeat or to a pact—something like a new accolade of Vergara—with national and international Fascism."

If I speak here of incidents on which, indeed, it would be hard, not to say impossible, to keep silence, it is only with the sole purpose of not leaving in the dark one of the causes, and by no means the least important, of the wave of pessimism which prevails at present among the best friends of the Spanish democracy.

France must Act

Does this mean I share this pessimism ?

On the contrary, I am writing this article to show my reasons for not giving way to it.

First, in so far as the military situation is concerned : in the fourteen months that the war has been going on, changing from a civil war to a war of invasion, we have known many ups and downs, but never, at any moment, since the initial defeat of the *pronunciamento* of July, 1936, have I departed from the conviction, that, if the democratic powers do not allow them to be crushed from outside, the Republicans will end by overcoming Franco, just as the Russians in 1918 overcame Koltchak and Denikin.

I refuse to believe that if the Fascist governments, especially Italy, by sending more so-called volunteers or by new evasions with regard to foreign forces in Spain, succeed in showing the world that for them non-intervention has never been anything but a mockery, the democratic governments could hesitate any longer. They could not go on hesitating until too late, to use all their power to "make the application of contracted engagements truly real" and

(Delbos at Geneva) to give the regular government of Spain the elementary right to procure the arms and materials necessary to defend itself against a rebel aggression.

But all that would not be enough if internal dissensions in the *Frente Popular* were to weaken it to such a point that it becomes incapable of carrying off a decisive victory.

One would have to be blind not to see this danger and that is why it is the duty of our internationals to do everything to maintain unity of action for the defence of democracy in Spain.

Nevertheless, I ask those of our friends who, because of this very real danger are a little too much inclined to see things in a dark light, to consider this simple thought. Who could forget that although in the midst of the French Revolution, the Republicans, grappling with the Vendée and with the coalition of monarchical powers, were sent, one after the other, to the guillotine, it did not prevent Jemmapes or Fleurus ; it did not prevent the victorious revolution making its way round Europe.

THE VITAL FRONTIER

by LOUIS FISCHER

From " Die Neue Weltbühne," Prague

THE Spanish war is a further phase in the struggle between young Italy and the old British Empire, and this struggle is a matter of life and death. Mussolini needs a strategical position which would make victory in the next war easier, or would offer the opportunity of making new conquests without exerting too much strength, by means of blackmail or intervention "against Bolshevism."

The French are well aware of this danger. The gangsterism practised with incredible audacity on French soil is giving the French people a bitter foretaste of what they would have to expect from a third Fascist neighbour. Germany lost the World War because she had to fight on two fronts. If Franco wins France will have three. It is said here (in Geneva) that the French General Staff has already warned Chautemps' Cabinet that it declines the responsibility of defending the country if the Spanish rebels are allowed to win. For this reason the French have not only not rejected Valencia's entreaties

for closer co-operation, but some of the French statesmen have even welcomed it. Daladier himself, the not too radical Radical Socialist and Minister of War declared that France "could not permit the freedom of communications with the African Empire to be destroyed through non-intervention, or a menace to her safety to be established on the Pyrenean border. In the life of a nation which does not want to renounce its greatness, moments arise when it must be in a position to say : No !"

If it had not been for Britain's demands for caution the French frontiers would be open now. France wants at all costs to prevent the arrival of the second Italian army—a hundred to two hundred thousand men strong—which is alleged to be waiting to land on Spanish soil. This army might be withheld if Mussolini were informed that even such a reinforcement would be insufficient to break down Valencia's resistance, because her frontiers had been opened for the importation of munitions. If the new Fascist Brigades were really to land the Duce would have a quarter of a million men in Spain. The sooner France acts the less force she will have to use.

It is assumed in Geneva that after the opening of the frontier between France and Catalonia, war supplies from the U.S.S.R. could

"Oh wad some Power the giftie gie him, to see himself as Neville sees him."

"Natal Mercury," Durban

be despatched to French channel ports and sent on into Spain by land. The Far Eastern situation has complicated things. Doctor Kung, the Chinese Minister of Finance, has been conferring with Negrin and Litvinoff. Nanking has urgent need of Soviet munitions. In this case, too, a victim of assault expects help, not from the vacillating bourgeois democracies, but from the Bolsheviks. Moscow is quite ready, I understand, to fulfil China's request. But she has not got unlimited means of help at her disposal. If England would deliver Spain from Franco, Russia would have her hands free to deliver China from Japan. However, at the moment England is pursuing a foreign policy which lacks the powerful realism of the U.S.S.R.

"UNKNOWNIA"—THE NEW LAND

From "Le Canard Enchainé" (satirical weekly) Paris

HARDLY a day goes by without the newspapers reporting some act of piracy or pillage, committed against English or French ships in the Mediterranean. These regrettable maritime incidents are all the work of unknown aeroplanes and submarines.

There is also the matter of the troops of unknown nationality which land regularly in rebel Spain, either at Malaga or at Algeciras.

Rather inexplicable events, it seems. . . .

Geographers, quickly aroused, finally discovered that a new nation "Unknownia" had recently found a place on the map of Europe.

Here is the information which they were able to obtain :—

Position. The topographical position of Unknownia has not yet been definitely determined. But there is no hurry. As long as its position is not exactly known the League of Nations is under no obligation to supervise it.

Population. Unknownia has a population of 42,000,000. But that's only a beginning. A recent law orders the Unknownians to be very prolific. The Unknownians obey patriotically.

Principal Cities. The capital of Unknownia is Rome, terminus of a great many roads. Naples, known for its kisses ; Milan, and Venice, which produces the lagoon and gondolier in abundant quantities, may also be mentioned.

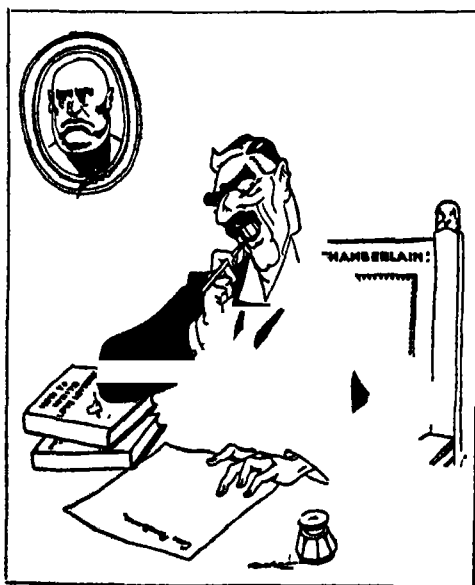
Language. The language used in Unknownia is not yet very highly developed. The Unknownians use, for the most part, certain cries :

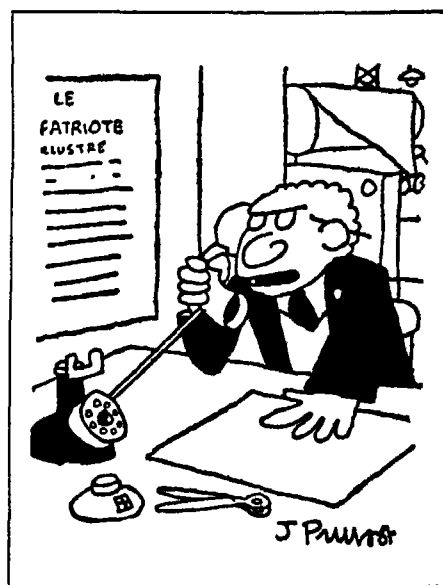
" *Eya ! Eya !* . . . *Alala !*. . . ."

" *Alala !* ", the people so addressed answer.

It doesn't mean very much. But the natives seem content with it.

National Wealth. The entire country is marvellously adapted for the production of macaroni. Great progress has been accomplished in this branch of industry. Whereas it used to be necessary when making each piece, to take a little hole and put the paste around it, now solid macaroni is made which is afterwards turned over to great mechanical perforators. Macaroni is also pierced by hand. But of course it's more expensive.

In addition the new nation exports a large number of manufactured articles ; principally the hunting seaplane, the clandestine submarine, the counter-proposal and the mechanised volunteer.

"De Groene Amsterdamer"

THE BASHFUL SCRIBE
"How can I tell him . . . . ?"

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

Editor : You say, an Italian plane, with nationalist colours, dropping German bombs? Well, of course, no doubt about it : it' an unknown aeroplane."

EUROPE WILL BE FASCIST

From the "Popolo d'Italia," Milan

(Reputed to be by Signor Mussolini)

THE statement made by Mussolini at Berlin on September 28 that the Europe of tomorrow would be Fascist, not so much as the result of propaganda as of the logical development of events, has caused not merely interested comments, but lively polemics.

This does not surprise us ; indeed it would have surprised us if it had not done so. It is clear that all those who at present represent conservatism and reaction—capitalism, parliamentary democracy, socialism, communism, liberalism and a certain section of Catholicism —are opposed to us who stand for the twentieth century, while they stand for the nineteenth century.

When we say that the Europe of tomorrow will be Fascist, we are supported by facts and also by the new States outside Europe which are in line with those which initiated this recovery. There is no doubt, for example, that Japan is freeing itself from the morass of parliamentarianism into which it fell a few years ago. The cries of the old women and the sermons of the archbishops either amuse or disgust us. . . . It is of course " pacifist " when England in case of need does not hesitate for a moment to bomb enemy positions as she has done and is doing in Waziristan, and as she will always do when the Empire is in danger.

Japan is not " formally " Fascist, but her anti-Bolshevist attitude, her foreign policy and the spirit of her people are bringing her into line with the Fascist countries. A South American State, Brazil, is freeing itself from the theories of 1798 and is joining in the fight against Bolshevism. Many countries in Europe are marching towards Fascism while declaring that they are doing nothing of the kind. They are advancing towards that political organisation which Mussolini defined many years ago as " organised, authoritarian, national democracy." Every nation will have its " own " Fascism ; that is to say a Fascism suited to its national characteristics. There is not and there never will be, a standardised Fascism for export.

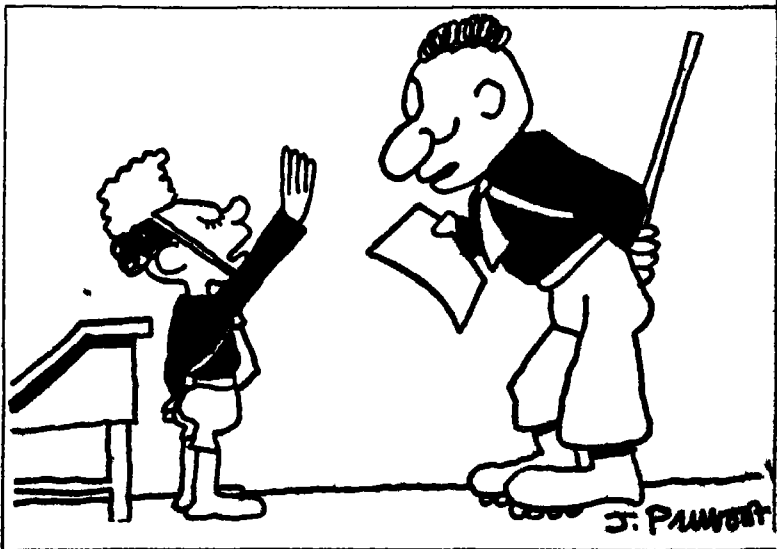
Those who cherish all sorts of foolish hopes about the future of the totalitarian States, forget that both have had to face severe tests; for Italy that of her victorious African enterprise and of resistance to the League of Nations siege by 52 States; for Germany that of the almost complete liquidation of the Treaty of Versailles which culminated in the reoccupation of the Rhineland.

The customs, the doctrines, and the atmosphere of this century will be Fascist in the widest sense of the word. The two nations who have initiated this new type of civilisation, are not newcomers in the field of philosophy and spiritual development. The silly statement that Fascism is suitable for people of a lower status to those who are in enjoyment of the so-called blessings of democracy, falls to the ground when we think of the contributions of Italy and Germany to the growth of civilisation.

Nor is there better foundation for the accusation that their dynamic nationalism will lead to war. What has happened in the last few years proves exactly the contrary; Germany on two most important occasions has shown her peaceful intentions—the agreement with Poland and the Naval Treaty with England. The heroic conception of life which is held by Fascists does not inevitably lead to war; that conception can find many opportunities of realisation in the works of peace.

AS THE DUCE PREDICTED

"Give me an example of a part of Europe which has 'become Fascist.'"

"Ethiopia."

Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

END BOMBING FIRST
Step by Step with War, says Germany

From an article by Dr. Fritz Berber (Editor) in the "Monatshefte für Auswärtige Politik," Berlin (organ of the German Institute of Foreign Affairs), September, 1937

GERMANY'S opponents in the World War—an impressive list whose names attached to the Treaty of Versailles did in fact comprise the majority of the States of the world—waged war, according to their own solemn assurances, " to end war."

This aim was to be accomplished by banning war as an institution, and the task was to be carried out above all by the newly-created League of Nations. It was maintained that the solution was to be found in differentiation between just and unjust war—only the former was permitted ; the latter was forbidden and being everybody's business, everybody had to proceed against the breaker of the peace with economic, and, if necessary, military sanctions. There could be no more neutrality under such circumstances, and, furthermore, no more so-called law of war.

Anyone was condemned as a reactionary and enemy of peace who spoke of the necessity of examining and modifying the provisions of international law regarding neutrality or belligerent rights, or even of the possibility of localising a war.

The endless Geneva discussions over " peaceful arbitration " and " sanctions against the aggressor " seemed somewhat unreal, almost fantastic, to anyone who preserved his sober outlook. World history has in the meantime passed ruthlessly over all these discussions. It has been shown that the Covenant of the League did not at all correspond to these ideologies, that it did not forbid war at all, that it did not only allow war of defence, but, under certain purely formal conditions, war of offence also, that it did not recognise at all the difference between just and unjust war, and indeed remained completely oblivious of the idea of justice as a principle of order. It has been shown further, that the legal provisions of the Covenant were not, and could not be, realised politically.

It is now the League's business to deal with the crisis which has arisen on the one hand through enthusiastic idealists' having

exaggerated the significance of the Covenant, and on the other hand through the League's having lagged in its practice behind possibilities which do exist in theory, even if they can be recognised as Utopian by every sober-minded person.

International law had undertaken further tasks long before the war, and had developed greatly in post-war times apart from League ideologies. Remember the results secured at The Hague, the beginnings made before the war of an institutional law for the avoidance of war by arbitration, and the great thought of " peaceful change " put forward after the war. This last is now again being brought to the fore by Lord Allen and Mr. Garvin, and must of necessity be developed outside the League, since Article 19 of the Covenant, which deals with this idea, represents its prison and tomb, but not the starting point for its realisation.

Reaction is always the punishment which follows exaggeration. Owing to Genevan ideology having tried to change international law into a doctrine of salvation from all international ills, sober and sensible law has been rendered the sort of bad service that alchemy rendered chemistry. It will be a hard but necessary task to save genuine international law, and its genuine developments in the way of law for the avoidance of war, from being dragged into the crisis in which exaggerated international law finds itself. This is especially true for one particular field which had the bad luck of having doubts cast on its right to exist by the Geneva brand of international law—that is, so-called law of war in the sense of a legal limitation of methods of warfare.

The expression " humanising of war " often used for this group of problems seems unfortunate and misplaced. One may speak of the humanising of legal punishment, by which is meant that inhuman and unnecessary severity, originating from rougher and more strong-nerved times, is removed from a permanently necessary and beneficent institution. But war is no permanently necessary and beneficent institution ; at times it breaks over the heads of the horrified nations like a catastrophe of nature, at others it is the last means of defence, only to be adopted after grave consideration by a people left with no other way of guarding its honour and its rights.

The objection has been made to war that it is senseless, because at its finish the basis of a new peace has after all to be negotiated,

so why not sit down at the conference table *before* the war instead of *after* it? But this objection is really only valid against a war which ends in a stalemate, a result which every warring party seeks to avoid in its own favour. The aim in war is victory over the opponent, i.e., the weakening of the opponent to such an extent that he is amenable to the arguments of the other side. The knock-out peace, and the knock-out war as the means to bringing it about, by which the opponent is not merely made amenable to arguments but is helplessly delivered up to the other side's unrestricted demands, is a perversion of the victory peace idea, invented by the Entente during the World War and used to our detriment.

What "Total War" Means

We have truly no cause to adopt this perversion, and certainly not with the help of that vague slogan : " total war." There is above all no cause to confuse *total* war with *absolute* war in the sense of " *inter arma silent leges*," as is often done nowadays.

Total war does indeed signify the use of all available means to defeat the opponent, but the *reasonable* use of all *appropriate* means, and that signifies mutual renunciation of the unreasonable use of inappropriate means. So far it has occurred to no proponent of the total war slogan to propose that defenceless enemies should be killed as the surest means of rendering them harmless, instead of taking prisoners, although the obligation to take defenceless enemies prisoner (Hague Convention of 1907) is in itself a limitation of absolute belligerent rights. No one either has thought of advocating the mutilation of defenceless enemies like the savages of the Danakil Desert, in order to induce panic, simply because there are certain methods which, even if they promise success, are so impossible to accord with our sense of honour, based on our race, that their use would dishonour us and make any victory achieved by them senseless.

Limitations of rights are even with " total " war both possible and necessary. To explore the possibilities of such limitations for the radically altered forms of modern large-scale warfare is a much more pressing task for international lawyers than wallowing in Utopian schemes for the " improvement " of Articles 10 and 16 of the League Covenant. The sober mean must be followed between enthusiasm and panic. This was done in classic fashion in the German programme for international law of war, of May 21, 1935, announced by the

ex-soldier and Supreme Commander of the Army, Adolf Hitler:

"9. The German Government is ready to participate actively in all efforts which might lead to practical limitation of armaments. It sees as the only possible way at the moment a return to the line of thought in the Geneva Red Cross Convention. It believes for the time being only in the possibility of a step-by-step abolition and outlawing of those means and methods of warfare which in their essence stand in contradiction to the already valid Geneva Red Cross Convention.

"It believes that, just as the use of dum-dum bullets was forbidden and so in general also prevented in practice, so the use of certain other weapons could be forbidden and so prevented in practice. In this connection it has in mind all those weapons which bring death and destruction less to the fighting soldiers than to women and children taking no part in the fight.

"The German Government regards the idea of abolishing aeroplanes, while permitting bombing, as mistaken and ineffective. But it does regard it as possible to ban the use of certain weapons internationally as contrary to international law, and to outlaw nations which nevertheless use such weapons, as outside the pale of humanity and its rights and laws.

"It believes here too, that step-by-step procedure would lead soonest to success. Thus: banning of gas bombs, incendiary bombs and then explosive bombs can be continued up to the complete international outlawing of bombing altogether. But so long as bombing as such is left unprohibited, every limitation of the number of bombing aeroplanes is questionable in view of the possibilities of quick replacement.

"But if bombing as such were branded as a barbarity contrary to international law, the construction of bombers would soon come to an end as being superfluous and objectless. If it has been possible gradually to prevent by the Geneva Red Cross Convention the killing—in itself feasible—of defenceless wounded or prisoners, it must be just as possible by a similar Convention to forbid and finally to bring to a complete stop bombing warfare on just as defenceless civil populations.

"Germany sees in such an approach on principle to the problem greater reassurance and security for the nations than in all pacts of mutual assistance and military conventions."

POLAND'S 3½ MILLION JEWS

From the Report on the Jews in Poland by the International Missionary Council, New York

A tenth of Poland's population are Jews, and a million of them must die of starvation unless something is done to help them. These are the facts shown by this Report, which also traces the peculiar history of the Polish Jew, and gives some solutions for his problem

IN the wall of a building in the Jewish quarter of Cracow may be seen a tablet erected in 1910 by Polish Jews. . . . The tablet commemorates the welcome extended in 1343 by Casimir the Great to the Jews who at the time were being driven out of most of the countries of Western Europe, and also the privileges of freedom of religion, language and trade granted to them.

The Jews admitted at that time founded, with their co-religionists already in the country, the historic Jewish community of Poland.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth century large numbers were forced by the Russian authorities to remove from Russia proper and live within " The Pale," that is west of the eastern boundary of Poland as it existed before the partition of the country between Russia, Austria and Germany. This increase, however, was adjusted by immigration, particularly to the United States of America. On the establishment of the Bolshevik regime in Russia other thousands crossed by surreptitious means the boundary into Poland. Further thousands of Polish Jews have returned in recent times from Germany. The net result is that in a total population of approximately 35,000,000 Poland possesses about 3,500,000 Jews or ten per cent. of its people. A proportion larger, by far, than that of any other country apart from Palestine.

Present-day students of the situation of the Jews in Poland are confronted by two governing and apparently contradictory facts. The first fact is that during all the strife and upheavals of the centuries the privileges granted in 1343 by Casimir the Great have, in general, been maintained : the second is the fact that today Poland is the

POLISH JEWS, THE COUNTRY'S SMALL TRADERS
Poland had no middle class when the Jews were admitted and they filled a gap for centuries

subject of a wide-spread publicity calling into question its good faith and denouncing its alleged anti-semitic spirit and practices.

The roots of the existing situation are found in the history of the country. In these connections the history of Poland is unique.

In the first place, Poland asserted and practised from the earliest time the republican principle of government by election of its supreme rulers, as against succession limited, by primo-geniture or otherwise, to a ruling family. The electoral function was confined to the great nobles and the landed gentry. Poland, further, was the land of freedom both of speech and conscience : the historic refuge of persecuted minorities.

In the second place the Polish social order consisted in the main of two strata—the peasantry attached and bound to the soil composed the lower stratum, the nobles and landed gentry the upper. The result

the absence of that essential stratum known as the middle class. was into this largely unoccupied stratum of the social order that simir the Great welcomed the Jews, and conferred upon them vileges, now so jealously guarded, of trade.

In the third place, Poland's history is without parallel, in that a time of peace, its territory was seized and divided between its ree rapacious neighbours : Russia, Austria and Germany.

Poland emerged from the entire period of partition and war not ly with her available resources destroyed to an estimated total of out 65 per cent., but with the historic defect in her social order—e absence of an experienced and sufficient middle class of Polish ood—intensified rather than amended. The period nevertheless ought to the peasants the blessing of release from the disabilities d restrictions inseparable from their age-long position of serfdom.

he Present Position

The foregoing conditions, historical, economic and social in aracter, gave rise to certain outstanding facts which govern the oblems of the Jews in Poland :

The fact that as the historic traders and middle-men of Poland e Jews representing but ten per cent. of the population, hold or ntrol about 61 per cent. of the total trade and commerce of the untry. They have also a majority in the total membership of both e medical and the legal professions.

The fact that the peasants, released from the shackles of serfdom d enjoying for the first time in their history the advantages of ucation and crowded off the land, are demanding opportunities for rning a living in the larger spheres of trade, and the professions.

The fact that Poland engaged in one of the greatest tasks of onomic and social reconstruction known to history, was plunged with her lands into the industrial depression, and, at the same time, vaded by the spirit of virulent anti-semitism prevalent in a neighbour-g country.

The fact that, by common consent about 1,000,000 Jews are in ch a desperate state of poverty that without special help they are omed to die of starvation, with the concomitant fact that at least great a number of peasants are in the same position.

The fact that the available economic substance of the country

appears to be insufficient for the support of its existing population, coupled with the further fact that the population is increasing by about 500,000 per annum.

The general charges (of anti-semitism), whether levelled against the people as a whole or the central Government of the country, cannot, in our judgment, be sustained.

What appears to be true is that a good deal of anti-semitic literature and propaganda is being distributed and conducted : and that unscrupulous agitators, for their own ends, engender and take advantage of opportunities for the arousing of more hatred and violence.

The question of solutions, is a subject concerning which many, both Poles and Jews, are seriously disturbed but few are agreed.

The first solution usually suggested is emigration. This method before the War solved it in measurable degree. (There are 4,000,000 and more Poles in the U.S.A. and probably 1,500,000 Polish Jews.) It is equally urgent, perhaps ever more so, for the peasants. The chief difficulty is obvious and apparently insurmountable ; the doors are closed and not likely in the near future, to be opened.

The second solution proposed is industrialisation. For an adequate industrialisation of the country, with its great undeveloped wealth, large sums of foreign capital would be required. For the entrance of these, other questions apart, a condition of stability in internal economic and social peace appears to be a first requisite.

The third solution is the complete co-operation in mutual goodwill and helpfulness of Jew and Gentile alike in a great task of devoted service and self-sacrifice for the good of Poland ; a land which has deserved so well from both and which offers to both the rewards inseparable from an unselfish discharge of the duties, as well as the privileges of good citizenship. To this end a greater co-operation of both Pole and Jew appears to us to be essential ; the Jew ceasing to regard ancient privileges in the realm of trade and commerce as inalienable rights ; the Pole recognising that the Jews displaced from trade, commerce, and the learned professions, must find proportionate avenues of entrance into Government and public utility services of all kinds, with a readier means of access to, and settlement upon, the land.

Finally, we record our conviction that the question of the future of the Jews now in Poland is essentially one of international proportion.

THE MONTH IN FRANCE—

PARIS HAS ITS MOTOR SHOW—

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris.

"Now, instead of taking our old car, you couldn't marry our daughter, could you?"

"Marianne," Paris

CAR RADIO

"It's the exhaust that's making that noise, I suppose?"
"No. It's the William Tell Overture."

—AND HUNTING BEGINS

"Ric et Rac," Paris.

FAIR PLAY

"Really, we *ought* to wake it first."

THE SOVIET CRISIS

by W. H. CHAMBERLIN

From "Contemporary Japan," Tokyo

What is the meaning of the Russian purges, which, it is estimated, are accounting for the lives of about a hundred a week? Here a journalist who was for eleven years correspondent in Russia of the "Christian Science Monitor" and who is the author of "Russia's Iron Age" and other books on that country gives his views

AN element of weird irrationality broods over the whole Russian scene. No evidence about the alleged offences of Marshal Tukhachevsky and his associates has been made public. It was broadly hinted in a *communiqué* that they were acting as spies of Germany. But here again one is quite baffled as to plausible motivation. Most if not all of the eight military leaders who were so summarily executed were veterans of the Red Army, men who had grown up with it since Russia's civil war of 1917-1920, who had finally risen to high posts of honour and responsibility. What conceivable inducement could they have received to betray their country and their Army to a foreign power?

Equally inexplicable, on rational grounds, are the widespread arrests, dismissals from office and demotions on ever vaguer and wilder charges of sabotage.

Take, for example, the "wrecking" which was so glibly confessed by the defendants at the trials. The loss of life and the damage to property which they testified to having caused were trivial from the standpoint of the Soviet economy as a whole; yet such crimes obviously exposed to mortal danger the individuals who committed them. In logic there was no reason whatever for this sabotage. If one admits, as an outside possibility, that Trotzkyist sympathisers might have become so embittered by their suppression that they would be willing to contribute to their country's defeat in the event of civil war, one might reasonably have expected them to postpone their wrecking until war had actually begun and some military benefit might have resulted from sabotage.

During the last few months railway executives all over the Soviet Union have been accused of wrecking trains and deliberately failing to carry out repairs. Agricultural officials are charged with castrating bulls and failing to provide proper lifemates for Soviet cows. One luckless comrade named Skvortzov, head of a gas prevention corps, is alleged to have poisoned workers and domestic animals with chlorine gas. A son of Trotzky who had voluntarily remained in the Soviet Union (of all persons the most certain to be closely watched, the least likely to attempt any overt act against the existing regime) is solemnly indicted for trying to poison the workers in the factory where he is employed as an engineer. How he would have advanced his father's cause by such an act of homicidal lunacy is far from clear. A nephew of Trotzky named Bronstein (also a man who would have had to be very circumspect in his acts) is stated to have disabled sixteen ships which were entering Leningrad harbour.

It is doubtful whether such accusations have ever been made except during periods of intense preoccupation with the imaginary power of witches and demons. And Russia is in the grip of an officially inspired obsession with the idea of demonic visitation highly suggestive of witch-hunts in the most backward countries and the darkest ages. Anything that goes amiss anywhere is likely to be attributed to the foul fiend, who, in contemporary Soviet demonology, assumes the form of " the enemy of the people," Trotzky. . . .

One of the grotesque and incongruous features of the recent nation-wide witch-hunt in the Soviet Union is that it closely followed the promulgation of the Constitution, so lavish in paper promises of all sorts of liberties and safeguards against arbitrary arrest.

The Causes

Another puzzling feature of the Soviet crisis is that it does not coincide with a period of unusual and extreme economic distress. While the living standards of the Russian masses are very low, there has been some improvement over such bleak years of universal short rationing as the Soviet Union experienced between 1929 and 1933.

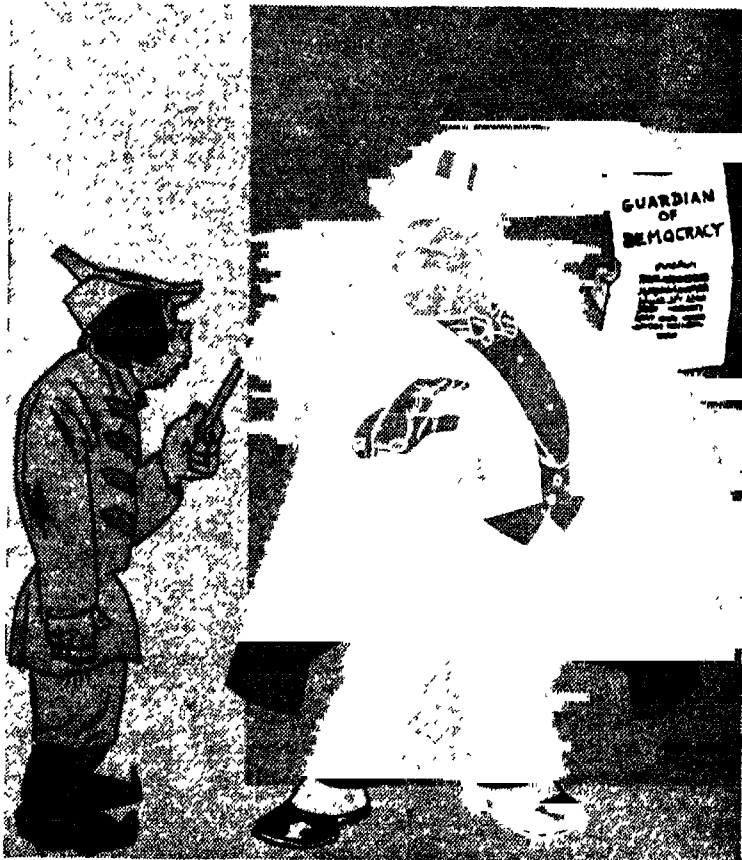
What then are the causes of the unmistakable crisis which gives little indication of having run its course ? They are, I think, personal and psychological, rather than economic and materialistic. There is really a dual crisis in the Soviet Union, a crisis of Stalin's personality

and a crisis of adjustment of revolutionary fantasies to human nature.

Let us consider first the personal aspect of the situation. No individual in the world today wields more absolute and unchecked power than that of Stalin. He controls not only the political, but also the economic life of the country, under the Soviet system of State socialism.

No important decision, whether of international politics, of the direction of communist propaganda, of internal administration or of agricultural and industrial policy can be taken without Stalin's approval and consent. His power extends even to the cultural life of the country ; it is not unusual to see a popular book, play or opera abruptly eliminated if it has failed to please the dictator.

Power in the Soviet Union does not, despite the assurances of the

Stalin · "It's about time you knew, Ivan, that I leave my sceptre at home when I play this part."

"Kladderadatsch," Berlin.

Constitution, rest with the Soviets, who are mere rubber-stamps for registering the will of the ruling Communist Party, the sole legal political organisation in the country. It would not even be accurate to describe the Soviet regime as a dictatorship of the Communist Party, which has been reduced, after repeated rigorous purges, to a membership of less than 2,000,000, out of a total population of approximately 170,000,000.

For the Communist Party is nothing but a blind instrument in Stalin's hands. He has killed, arrested, broken in one way or another all of Lenin's old associates whose authority during the first years of the Revolution was equal or superior to his own. In their places he has appointed to the highest posts of the Communist Party and the Soviet bureaucracy two types of followers : mediocrities whose rôle in the Revolution was negligible, and younger men who could not have made their mark during the Revolution two decades ago and who owe their advancement entirely to Stalin.

During the tense period of Revolution and civil war, when the existence of the Soviet regime was in much greater danger than at the present time, criticism within the Party ranks was much freer than it is today. A Party or Soviet Congress today is nothing but an uninterrupted hymn of adulation for Stalin, each bureaucrat trying to devise some new and more acceptable form of flattery.

Stalin Has Deteriorated

When one considers the natural psychological effect of such a constant stream of extravagant praise, unbalanced by the harsh words of opposition and disagreement that not seldom fall to the lot of the head of a democratic state, yet accompanied by the constant still small fear of assassination, it is obvious that the nerves of such a dictator as Stalin are subject to abnormal strain. And during recent years, especially during the last year, there has been a clear deterioration of his quality of leadership. Finesse has given way to the crudest kind of brutality.

Stalin ten years ago might have been a worthy object of admiration to Machiavelli. He had manœuvred his way to the supreme power, first playing off Zinoviev and Kamenev (whom he recently shot) against Trotzky, then utilizing the support of other Party leaders, Rykov, Bukharin and Tomsky (of whom the first two are in

prison, while the third committed suicide) to break his temporary allies, Zinoviev and Kamenev. And he had done this without bloodshed, without any spectacular *coup d'état*, simply through adroit manipulation and wire pulling.

But Stalin's methods today rather suggest those of Scarface Al Capone, or some other monarch of the American underworld. He can no longer content himself with gradually demoting or degrading suspected rivals and enemies ; he must kill them.

The Constructive Element Has Gone

The big changes which were carried out in Soviet economic life between 1929 and 1933, the industrialisation of the country and the forcible substitution of collective for individual farming, were accomplished at the price of immense human suffering. Whole classes of the population, such as the Kulaks, or more well-to-do peasants, were economically and to some extent physically exterminated. Fear and espionage were universal. Yet, however much one might question the desirability of the changes themselves, or doubt whether any future gains could justify the prodigious amount of misery which was being inflicted, Stalin at that time was driving for definite and understandable objectives. To a fanatical mind the argument that the last remains of capitalism were being destroyed was the justification for all the ruthlessness with which the new policies were carried out. As a result of an intense propaganda campaign, at least a part of the Soviet youth was infused with the idea that a new and better world was being built.

One entirely misses any constructive element in the terrorism of the last year. The amazing picture of wholesale treason, sabotage and corruption (charges of embezzlement of public funds are being brought with increasing frequency) which is unfolded by the official Soviet press must be highly disheartening both to sincere Communists in Russia and to " friends of the Soviet Union " abroad. The " invincible " Red Army, where no serious cases of disaffection had hitherto been publicly aired, is suddenly revealed as allegedly including in its leadership many prominent officers who are systematically betraying its secrets and working for its defeat. At the same time many of the leaders of " socialist " industry and agriculture are denounced on the ground that they are deliberately endeavouring to wreck the enterprises under their control. Whatever respect the

masses may have had for Communist and Soviet bureaucrats must be seriously undermined by the constant flow of new alleged exposures of crime and malfeasance in office.

Stalin himself, in 1925, was a prophetic critic of the Stalin of 1937. At this time he was opposing a demand of Zinoviev and Kamenev that Trotzky be expelled from the Party and put to death.

" A policy of shedding blood," declared Stalin, in a reference that is deeply ironical in view of his own recent record, " is dangerous and contagious. One cuts off a head today, another tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow a third—then what remains of the Party ? "

Very little indeed does remain of the Party, after Stalin has decimated its old guard leadership by his numerous executions and far more numerous arrests and degradations—except an organisation of bureaucratic jobholders, devoid of any capacity for independent thought. And even the security of the Soviet bureaucrat today is decidedly uncertain ; he never knows when he will be cast for the rôle of a scapegoat and suddenly denounced as an agent of Germany or a secret ally of Trotzky, engaged in some weird scheme of damaging and disruption.

Apart from the deterioration in Stalin's capacity for leadership, the Soviet Union is experiencing a crisis of post-revolutionary adjustment. It is an unfailing psychological law that every major revolution is ultimately followed by a reaction. . . .

Post-Revolutionary Reaction

The Russian Revolution has been even more profound and far-reaching than the French. Indeed there have been two Revolutions, of which the first, from 1917 until 1921, abolished private ownership of large industry and established the political dictatorship of the Communist Party. The second, which went on from 1929 until 1933, made a virtually clean sweep of private property in private trade and agriculture and thereby laid the foundation for a socialist planned economy, in which the State undertakes to regulate every detail of national economic life, from the wage-scale of a peasant in a collective farm to the number of barber-shops in a new industrial settlement.

There has been no lack of signs that in Russia also the mood of reaction, of gradual abandonment of the more extreme ideals of the Revolution, has been gaining ground. And for some time Stalin

himself seemed to swim with the tide, making one concession after another to the newly aroused instincts for personal enrichment, personal distinction and stability of family life.

Many of the features of early Soviet life which won the admiration of left wing intellectuals in America and Western Europe have been unceremoniously scrapped. Divorce has been made difficult and expensive and the State exalts the mother who bears many children and frowns on contraception. High titles of military rank, which were abolished after the Revolution, were restored. The self-denying ordinance under which Communist Party members were limited as to the amount of money they might earn was dropped. Authority in the home and in the school, almost non-existent in the first years of the Revolution, was restored.

With a view to increasing productivity and improving labour discipline the rights of the factory managers have been extended and those of the workers' committees curtailed. And Stalin threw all the weight of his authority behind the proposition that for unequal work there must be unequal wages. There has been a steady spread in wage and salary differentials until today the difference between the

"My husband hasn't come home for two days."

"What do you think's happened?"

"I'm afraid he's become a Russian General."

[*A White Russian General has again been kidnapped in Paris.*]

"*Le Petit Parisien*"

earnings of a State business executive or an engineer and of an unskilled worker or peasant is about as great as it would be under a system of private capitalism. Dancing and lavish entertainments, frowned on as " bourgeois " for a time, have again come into style. . . .

But the terror of the last months has struck so widely and indiscriminately that it cannot be accurately interpreted as a consistent process of putting out of the way people who remained inconveniently revolutionary in their ideas after the period of revolution was over. Not a few of its victims have been generally regarded as moderates and rightwingers within the communist ranks ; and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Stalin, clinging desperately to his absolute power and haunted by exaggerated fears of assassination and conspiracy, has been simply " liquidating " (to use a customary Bolshevik synonym for execution) everyone who seemed even remotely dangerous as a potential rival. . . .

International Effects

The effect of the continuing purge on the international position of the Soviet Union is inevitably negative. An English newspaper recently suggested that it would be useless to sign a pact with the Soviet Union because the people who signed it would probably be shot as traitors and saboteurs before the ink on the document was dry. While the technical armament achievements of the Red Army are considerable the shooting of eight of its leading Generals, the suicide and " disappearance " of several others cannot but raise grave doubts in the minds of Russia's allies as to how effective the military machine would be in the event of war. The yielding attitude of the Soviet Government in the recent Amur islets controversy with Manchukuo is not calculated to dispel these doubts.

It is impossible to know with any certainty what cliques and factions exist within the Red Army or how far Stalin has insured the affection, or at least the obedience of the surviving Generals by shooting so many of their colleagues. But it seems highly probable that the aftermath of the prolonged purge will be a period of passivity in Soviet foreign policy. The apprehension cherished in Japanese military circles that the formidable array of Soviet tanks and airplanes will be thrown into the balance in Manchukuo or China seems unfounded, at least for the time being.

About the future of the Soviet Union no one can speak with certainty, especially when the present situation is so obscure and at the same time so fluid, with many actors on the political stage terminating their rôles so abruptly. It is quite conceivable that after Stalinism will come some kind of Soviet Bonapartism, which might give all the neighbours of the Soviet Union good cause for concern.

But there is an equally good chance that Russia's rôle in international affairs will be passive rather than active for an indefinite period. Russia has before it immense tasks of internal development, comparable with those which faced the United States after the Civil War, when the opening up of the West kept America fully occupied for more than a generation. Moreover, there are internal problems and contradictions to be solved.

The Non-Russian Soviets

The fact that the theoretical " dictatorship of the proletariat " in practice is becoming more and more evidently a dictatorship of a privileged bureaucracy over the proletariat is certain to lead to internal discontent and friction. The almost hysterical concern about Ukraine which Soviet leaders display and the especially rigorous purges which have taken place there and also in other non-Russian regions, such as White Russia, Georgia and Karelia, show that the nationality problem is by no means entirely solved. In theory every affiliated Soviet Republic has the right to secede from the Union. In practice anyone who advocated secession would be promptly shot or imprisoned. Almost half the population of the Soviet Union is non-Russian ; and the contradiction between the paper liberty of the affiliated republics and the actual close centralisation of political and economic power in Moscow creates another perplexing domestic problem.

So there would seem to be some reason for agreeing with Major-General Homma's recently expressed opinion that Japan need not be unduly apprehensive over the military preparations of the Red Army and for hoping that Soviet-Japanese relations, if they cannot be cordial, may at least be placed on a basis that will exclude the likelihood of actual conflict.

MOSCOW CRACK

A current joke, not openly told in Moscow, is that " Stalin has had all his old friends executed; now he is falling back on mere acquaintances."—*News Review, London.*

JAPAN NEEDS A SHORT WAR

by EDWARD C. CARTER

(General Secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York)

From " Die Wiener Wirtschaftswoche," Vienna

Here Mr. Carter, who knows the Far East intimately, puts his finger on the immediate cause of the war, and forecasts its future course

ANYONE who has repeatedly visited the countries bordering on the Pacific in the last few months, as I have done, must be surprised at the political and economic changes which have taken place in several of these countries during the last year. The China that I left a few weeks before the outbreak of the present war is entirely different from the one I knew during my previous visits there. China, from being a collection of states has become a nation, the national consciousness is awakened and not only dominates intellectual circles, but is also very strong in all classes of the population.

Hand in hand with this spiritual regeneration came an economic development which has now taken on American dimensions. Economic life is running much more accurately and regularly, the railways are in an excellent condition, the position of the national finances was never as favourable as it was last spring and, a clear sign of this turn for the better, imports rose by about 40 per cent. and exports by about 30 per cent. A similar picture of the economic advance is offered by Siberia, where several cities, which a few years ago were only little townships, have developed into industrial strongholds.

The impression I got from Japan was quite different. Japan passed her economic zenith in the preceding year. Every onlooker is struck by the fact that the economic condition of the country today is entirely different from that of the year before. The difficulties which may be observed in many industries are made worse by the fact that since the beginning of this year the exchange control has been rendered so much more severe that the importation of raw materials and machines—in so far as they are not necessary for war preparations—is seriously interfered with. Added to this are the well-known

difficulties in internal politics, the unfavourable valuation of the year in foreign money markets, etc.

I have purposely put these two pictures side by side ; on one hand the economic upturn in China and Siberia, on the other the decline from Japan's economic zenith, because this contrast is one of the deeper causes which have led to the war in the Far East. In Japan there are certain circles which saw war as the only way out of this precarious situation and which were filled with misgivings by the economic improvement in the other two countries. Undoubtedly the present Japanese government did not want the war ; that it has taken a by no means favourable turn for Japan is a proof that the government judged rightly when they continually tried to urge moderation on the military party. But their efforts were unfortunately without success. As late as the first of last July an understanding was reached between the Manchurian and North Chinese armies on one side and responsible people in Tokio on the other which justified the hope that further developments would be peaceful. But the national extremists on both sides pushed ahead too far and a week later the first shots were heard.

How Can China Secure Arms?

There is no point in arguing now about who fired the first shot. Events have taken their course and it looks at present as if the war will be a very long one. Opposed to the well-equipped army of the aggressor, armed with the most modern weapons, stands a people, many times superior in numbers and whose national consciousness has clearly been strengthened by the war, but suffering from a lack of munitions. Will China be able to remedy this defect? That is a great question. Since the Chinese coast is blockaded there are only two routes by which the Chinese army could receive munitions ; through French Indo-China and through Outer Mongolia, which is under Russian control. Both offer great difficulties in transportation quite apart from the fact that it is uncertain whether France or Russia are ready to give assistance when it would involve so many risks. In so far as Russia especially is concerned she might, if she liked, put an end to the war by interfering actively in favour of China. But Russia, perhaps only for the time being, will not proceed alone ; she aims at inducing England, France, and the U.S.A. to take united

action against Japan. It is doubtful whether Moscow can accomplish this as things are at present. So, under conditions prevailing at present, China must carry on the struggle alone. However it may end it will bring unhappiness to the countries involved in it, and it will do great damage to Japan economically whether she wins or loses. Therefore Japan has the greatest interest in ending the war quickly, while China's chances, as long as munition supplies can be assured, increase with the duration of the war.

JAPAN'S SIDE

From the American radio address by Mr. Kensuke Horinouchi, Japanese Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs

WE believe that a nation should not only be animated by a desire for peace, but should realistically seek to establish those conditions which are essential for the maintenance of peace. This we have always endeavoured to do.

It is indeed unfortunate that our patient and persistent efforts toward establishing our relations with China on a firm and friendly basis had to be interrupted by the present conflict. We still hope, however, that we shall be able to come speedily to terms with our next-door neighbour and stabilise our relations to our mutual benefit.

Why, then, have we had to resort to arms? We must emphasise, first, that the expeditionary forces of Japan now in China have been sent there for no aggressive purposes and, secondly, that we have no territorial designs. Our forces are in China to safeguard our legitimate interests, to protect our rights, and to secure the safety of our nationals. These forces will be withdrawn the very moment that their presence is no longer required. . . .

Let me now briefly explain the underlying causes of the conflict—the driving forces at work in China today. When I say driving forces, I mean those shaping China's national policy and programme. The ultimate aim of those forces today as declared by the leaders of China is to unite and revitalise China into an organised nation. In that aim, the Japanese nation is sympathetic. We certainly hope to see such a China come into being, for then only can we enjoy real stability and security in the Far East. Unfortunately, however, these

Chinese leaders have chosen the wrong means to achieve their purpose. For several years past, they have carried on a relentless anti-Japanese campaign, adopting it as their policy—as a means of obtaining united national support for the Nanking Government.

It is common knowledge that the Communists have been playing a significant rôle in the nation-wide agitation against Japan. It is also well known that these elements are supported by the Communist International which aims at the destruction of the existing structure, both political and social, of the entire world. These elements are the forces directing the destinies of China today. These are the forces—one anti-Japanese, the other Communistic—with which Japan must contend.

For the sake of her own national security and for the sake of the peace of East Asia, Japan must eradicate this Communist menace. We have, therefore, repeatedly invited the attention of the Chinese Government to the danger of Communism, simultaneously requesting them to suppress effectively the anti-Japanese agitation. But, far from listening to us, the Chinese Government joined hands with the Communists in their campaign against Japan, which became increasingly violent, and with this, all our efforts at re-adjusting Sino-Japanese relations proved futile.

It is to be greatly deplored that a major conflict which we have striven to the last to avoid is now going on. But as I stated in the outset, we have not lost hope for peace. Japan is deeply conscious that she must live in harmony and co-operation with China, for, after all, we are close neighbours, who should co-operate on the friendliest of terms for our mutual well-being.

GENEVA'S WORST

What I imagine Mr. Harrison is thinking is that possibly on this occasion Japan has bitten off in Shanghai and in Nanking more than she can Manchukuo.

That is the sort of stuff we are talking in Geneva, which seems to me to be the place most remote from all realities in the world.—*Geneva Correspondent, Daily Express.*

DON'T BREAK THE NEWS TO THEM

Commemorating the signing of the Kellogg-Briand peace pact, government officials in Paris and Washington will unite in praise of the international agreement to outlaw war during a broadcast tonight at 5.30 o'clock.—*The Peoria, Ill., Star, quoted in The New Republic, New York.*

EUROPE ANSWERS UNCLE SAM

MUCH ADO ABOUT—WHAT?

by RUDOLPH KIRCHER (*Editor*)

From the " Frankfurter Zeitung "

A truly epoch-making event this month has been President Roosevelt's great speech, condemning international anarchy, and fearlessly advocating American participation in collective action against aggressors. How far will he lead his country to abandon its policy of neutrality? Here we have some varied views from Europe

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S Chicago speech, and the American Government's declaration on the Sino-Japanese conflict have excited people, in our estimate, quite unduly. His action seems to us very " American." The President makes his appearance like a *deus ex machina* to the accompaniment of thunder and lightning. There is so much staging that it is hard to arrive at the meaning of the performance.

It is our guess that two things should be carefully distinguished from one another : the possibility of a fundamental change in direction in American policy, and the immediate practical significance as regards international disputes, i.e., first and foremost, the Sino-Japanese conflict. As regards the former, important developments may, under certain circumstances, arise ; as regards the latter, however, there seems to us no cause to expect great results.

Leading personalities in the United States have become convinced that the American idea of neutrality, i.e., that the country could isolate itself and do good business in the event of international complications, on the basis of the 1937 Neutrality Act--is wrong. . . . The hope of establishing that harmony between business and politics which is one of the typical aims of the Americans, has not been fulfilled to the extent expected. The application of the Act in the Sino-Japanese case would have consequences which appeared grotesque to the Americans, as Japan would have been the one to benefit. For these reasons they found themselves condemned in Washington to execute a political tight-rope dance.

It is not surprising therefore to hear the rumour that the President

intends shortly to apply to Congress, in order to secure an alteration in the Act. Even if this were not his intention, he would have an opportunity, in the confusion of a by no means simple political situation, of making the world and his opponents at home forget the tight-rope dance, by striking high-sounding notes on peace and the forthcoming change in the United States' rôle in world politics. This would have the advantage that the English could not (as at the time of the Manchurian conflict) reproach the Americans by saying that only their lack of energy prevented effective intervention in the Far East—a reproach which is particularly unwelcome to Americans since England's unwillingness to expose the Empire to a conflict in the Far East is so obvious.

In what measure, and in what way, the United States would really like in future to take part in the regulation of the world, in the League of Nations, or even in the common policy of France and England, cannot be foreseen at all. The French Press especially seems already to be regarding things as certain which are still completely hidden in the mists of American diplomacy. Certainly, the United States Government has quite expressly approximated to the League's Resolution, but this need not mean so very much. We by no means see President Roosevelt yet sitting at Litvinov's side at the Geneva Council table. We also do not yet see any Anglo-Franco-American three-pointed star beaming over Europe. The President seems to us to be at the moment occupied in steering the American people out of their illusion of isolation, and himself out of the blind-alley of his legislation. He has made his big bang and is now waiting tensely for its echo in the hearts and heads of the American electors, in particular those who have so far made a nice packet of money out of certain wars, civil wars and, last but not least, Bolshevism. His next steps will depend, we presume, in the first place on this echo.

The American citizens have been assured by their President right along that he will in no case lead them into dangerous adventures, or into a war over sanctions policy. . . .

Certainly, the Department of State has moved into the spiritual company of the League Assembly by its condemnation of Japan as a treaty-breaker. But what do Geneva resolutions signify without either the will or the way to give them practical validity? The Americans cheer the League up by placing themselves parallel to it,

but at the same time announce : " We won't let ourselves be dragged into sanctions." They *will* attend a conference, a conference of the Powers which concluded the Treaty regarding China's integrity in 1922. In this Treaty a " frank and complete exchange of views " is provided for if necessary—an exchange of views, but no obligation to go to war or anything of the sort. So they will confer, while Japan continues her way undisturbed towards the attainment of her goal (what will that in actual fact prove to be ?).

Insoluble Dilemma

The Department of State will probably lay emphasis on the breaking of the Nine Power Treaty, which in practice will mean a demand that a peace be again concluded in China, and, moreover, a peace which maintains China's integrity, both territorial and political. Japanese spokesmen are already declaring : " China's integrity will not be violated," but they want no talk of Treaties and Conferences, because " we want no third parties intervening." Not even the President's great gesture, and the flight to the neighbourhood of the League seem to critical eyes to open a satisfactory way out of this situation. We are glad that we have no part in this dilemma, but wish the bleeding Orient a quick return to good order and a just peace.

SUPPORT FROM RUSSIA

From " Izvestia," Moscow

AT a time when the wave of fascist aggression is mounting ever higher in two continents and the lawlessness of the aggressors who enjoy impunity is leading to more and more human sacrifices and the destruction of material goods on a vast scale, the head of the American government has found words which show that he is fully aware of the menace.

A number of thoughts expressed in Roosevelt's speech closely correspond to the ideas and principles the application of which has been fought for with consistency only by Soviet diplomacy—for example, the principle of the indivisibility of peace.

The fact that Roosevelt touched in his speech on the question

of neutrality shows that American public opinion is increasingly in favour of reconsideration of the policy which has been pursued up to now. But this point at the same time reminds us of the difficulties lying in the path of a truly effective struggle against aggression. In order to carry out the principles enunciated in the President's speech, it will be necessary to remove a number of weighty obstacles both in the sphere of American domestic politics and in that of international politics.

If a quarantine against the fascist aggression is to be effective, it is necessary for certain governments to replace words by deeds. Roosevelt's speech represents a significant step in that direction. The near future will show whether further steps are to be taken.

SECRETARY HULL'S EGG DANCE

"New Masses" (Communist), New York

It goes without saying that steps aimed at practical collective resistance to lawless and criminal military aggression will meet with the full support of the Soviet Union.

PRESIDENT WILSON LIVES AGAIN

From the "Prager Presse," Prague

For the Czechs, who won independence at Versailles, the name of President Wilson has almost sacred significance. In Germany, on the other hand, a comparison of President Roosevelt with his hated predecessor of the ill-fated Fourteen Points would damn him in their eyes

ROOSEVELT'S speech in Chicago signifies a dramatic change of course in present political developments. . . .

With his confession of faith in world peace, international law, the idea of morality in international politics, President Roosevelt has adopted the same great line of thought that animated President Wilson at the founding of the League of Nations. As the United States did not join the League it has been largely forgotten what rôle Washington played at its birth. And yet it was the great principles of American democracy which moved Wilson to initiate the League as a new instrument in the relations between nations. Even though America, for internal reasons, declined connection with the League, Geneva remained essentially identical with America's ideals. The Pan-American policy which has been pursued by the United States since the end of the war was only an attempt to realise the world-unifying ideals of the League on a regional basis.

Roosevelt's intervention came almost at the last minute. It had the effect of a stimulating injection in Geneva. The League realised suddenly that its work was after all running parallel with that of the North American democracy, and that its mission of peace can reckon in decisive questions with the United States. Consciousness of this had its effect in the negotiations over China. The resolution adopted did not only signify moral condemnation of the aggressor, but suggested that individual States should give active help to the victim. There is no doubt that America would join in such individual action.

America's co-operation with Geneva in this question is naturally promoted by the great material interests which she has to protect in

China, and which make the League appear in the light of a welcome ally for the maintenance of Chinese independence. Nevertheless, this *rapprochement* will have consequences over and above the Chinese question. . . . For Central Europe Roosevelt's declaration represents a moral strengthening of peace tendencies.

THE WORLD'S PLIGHT
America is Responsible

From the "Journal de Genève"

THE whole question (as regards Mr. Roosevelt) is whether we have to do with a philosophic historian or a statesman determined to act. The fate of the world depends on the answer.

For we must say what President Roosevelt did *not* say : without lessening in any way the responsibility of nations which have worked against collective security, we affirm, at the risk of provoking a wave of indignation in North America, that the real responsibility for the troubled situation of the world lies with the United States of America.

"No, we can't give you an apology for bombing foreigners. But we shall keep your governments in mind when we next place a contract for bombs"

"Bhx," in "Berlingske Sontag," Copenhagen.

If the action of the League of Nations was corrupted from its birth it is because it was conceived and organised by President Wilson on the basis of the direct collaboration of his country, and that this collaboration was lacking from the very beginning.

The League could have been conceived in two different ways : as a strong but not necessarily universal League with a military force always at its disposal to make its wishes respected ; or as a universal League whose moral power was such that no State would be able to ignore its verdicts.

To satisfy the United States and obtain their collaboration the second alternative was adopted. And the League of Nations conceived on the American model is powerless because of America's withdrawal.

The most energetic apologies cannot really change this situation. To obtain collective security either the United States must participate unreservedly in the League of Nations or the Pact must be entirely revised, taking into account the absence of the United States.

HOPE FOR REAL PEACE

From "L'Homme Libre," Paris

THE President of the United States has restricted his discussion to generalities and has not said by what practical means he intends to collaborate with us.

The essential point is that, at the psychological moment, the solidarity of the American democracy with the democracies of Europe has been brilliantly defined. It is quite certain that if this solidarity of spirit, thought and aim were soon to become more concrete it would not be long before we saw a prudent retreat on the part of the Berlin-Rome axis. It would be spoken of less loudly. The policy of the *fait accompli* would be given up and consent would at last be given for reasonable negotiations to take place around the green table of a real Peace Conference.

THE LAND OF ALIBI

Report from Naples :—Forty-one officers and 1,795 soldiers have embarked on the *Toscana*. The[illegible]tachments are leaving for Tripoli, some say. For Alibi, say others.—*Le Can[illegible]iné, Paris.*

BOYCOTT OR NEUTRALITY?

ON HATING THE JAPANESE

by BRUCE BLIVEN (*Editor*)

From "The New Republic," New York

This striking expression of the argument against sanctions comes from the editor of one of America's most important Socialist weeklies. It was written before President Roosevelt's speech, but the paper has not apparently changed its opinion since. Six American Peace organisations also continue to urge absolute neutrality

A GOOD many of my friends have lately found a new occupation for themselves in hating the Japanese. Their language, when they express what they think of the present invasion of China, is mostly unprintable. They frequently utter the fervent wish that the Japanese army now in China should be destroyed to the last man, that Japan herself should be invaded and conquered, and that her great cities should experience the horrors of aerial bombardment such as have lately been inflicted upon Shanghai and other Chinese communities.

With much of the indignation expressed against Japan it is impossible not to agree. Her whole Asiatic policy in recent years violates every human concept of justice ; it is so unmoral that it seems to deny that any such thing as morality even exists. It is as bad as the Italian war against Ethiopia : nothing worse than that could be said.

The question remains : What should be done about this attitude of ours ? Should we take steps to implement our hatred ?

I must admit I am astonished at the number of people who now believe that we should. In England, in particular, many voices are now raised to demand that Great Britain and the United States should stop Japan. The argument is made that she is urgently dependent upon imported raw materials and manufactures. Moreover, if the present war continues longer than a few weeks, she will be dependent upon large foreign credits as well. Let England and the United States, it is urged, join hands in putting a steel ring round the Japanese Archipelago. Let them cut off the flow of cash and goods, and Japan

will speedily be brought to her knees. She can then be forced to halt her war in China, perhaps even to rectify some of her wrongs of the past six years.

This argument sounds tempting ; simple, dramatic and brutal actions are always attractive in a world where everyone is a sadist if he isn't a masochist. Yet on second thought, some troubling doubts arise —doubts that deserve at least to be catalogued.

Would such action produce the desired effect? Certainly it did not, when half-hearted economic sanctions were applied against Italy in the Ethiopian affair. The effect then was to fuse the whole nation behind its leaders, to destroy any possible opposition voices, to create burning hatred of the foreigners responsible for this action. Is there not every reason to believe that still stronger sanctions would now produce the same result to an even more intense degree? Is not the only reasonable parallel the example of a country invaded by a foreign foe, in whose presence patriots forget all their differences and fight shoulder to shoulder in the common peril?

Blockade means Starving Women

Are we prepared to accept the consequences of such a policy? Even if you assume that the democracies, by economic measures, could break the Japanese will, it is obvious that her will would not be broken until the effects of the blockade had been tremendously strong. In cold English, that means making war on an entire population. It means, as we learned in Germany in 1918, to starve women and children, the aged and the ill, while available supplies are diverted to the fighters. If our object is, as advocates of the blockade say it is, to avert large-scale human suffering, then this particular device is a failure.

Would not the policy lead at once to war? Many careful students of international affairs are convinced that the application of such a blockade would produce, at once and almost automatically, a Japanese declaration of war against the blockaders. If this took place, the cure would certainly be worse than the disease. With Great Britain thus engaged in the Orient, the danger of a flare-up in Europe would be much increased.

Could England and America fight Japan with clean hands? The great democracies have an invincible flair for self-righteousness ;

but even they must remember that they have a heavy share of responsibility for the situation in China. What Japan is doing is merely to continue on a larger scale and with more brutal candour what the Great Powers did in China for a hundred years. The British are not so far from the Amritsar massacre that they can afford very much righteous wrath about the bombing of Shanghai. Americans who are today only in middle age participated in the extermination of Filipino leaders at the turn of the century. Both countries still stand subject to a Japanese charge of *tu quoque !*

Would a blockade be carried out? A half-hearted attempt to apply economic sanctions, or one abandoned in the middle, would be worse than none. Is there any guarantee that such a policy, if undertaken, would be pursued to the end? We know that the British Government, for reasons of its own, refused to tighten the noose around Italy—and sacrificed Ethiopia thereby. We know, too, that the present Tory Cabinet in London has strong pro-fascist elements—elements that remember Britain's traditional friendship and former alliance with Japan. The evidence clearly suggests the danger that economic sanctions, even if undertaken, would not be carried out in good faith.

What Good Would Come?

And finally, even if we could destroy the power of Japan, ought we to do so? We destroyed Germany in 1919, and the world has been suffering the consequences ever since. There would be small hope of enduring peace, with Japan smarting under defeat and nursing dreams of the day of revenge. We have paid dearly during the last eighteen years for the lesson that peace settlements regarded by the vanquished as unjust—and any crushing defeat is almost sure to be so regarded—do not bring peace but the menace of renewed war.

Those numerous persons who so lightly urge that the democratic nations should go to war to destroy fascism overlook the question whether democracy itself could survive a war, even when ostensibly waged in its own interest. So far as the United States is concerned, we know from past experience that our democracy, such as it is, disappears overnight when we are once engaged in conflict. If I know the temper of this country, we should be in grave danger of

emerging from such a struggle with a permanent fascist regime of our own. The bitter truth is that when we hate the fascists, actively, they score a victory over us : we have become like them, for hatred is their hallmark.

Does all this come down to a philosophy of despair, of folding our hands and permitting the forces of brutality and terror that are abroad in the world to do what they will ? Not necessarily ; the time may come when we must fight, or must threaten to fight with a firm intention of making that threat good. As regards the Japanese aggression in China, however, it is certainly desirable to face the facts candidly and to recognise that however much we might like, on moral grounds, to interfere, there is no hope of success large enough to justify the venture. It is legitimate to say that fascism is a fever for which the treatment indicated, at least in the present instance, is isolation to burn itself out. It remains true that fascism is economically unsound and is able to exist, in any country, only by laying more and more onerous burdens on the mass of the population. Japan, if she continues on her present course, will end in national bankruptcy with an excellent chance that her present government will then collapse and be succeeded by one much farther to the Left, one with which the rest of the world can live in a pattern of continuing amity. The weakness of fascism as a philosophy is that not only does it crush and distort the human spirit but it is unable to produce in satisfactory quantities houses and automobiles and gardens and food and clothing. It produces instead hunger and misery and the hysteria which alone helps to make hunger and misery endurable. Its movement is downward, and that fact must some day penetrate to the suffering masses of the people, however skilful the propaganda machine which today silences their ears and blinds their eyes.

AMERICA'S WILL TO PEACE

From " The New York Times "

IN none of these documents (the letter published by Mr. Stimson, Secretary of State in the Hoover Government, and the present Department of State's denunciation of Japan) is there the slightest

suggestion that the United States is considering abandoning the ways of peace. They will be misread if they are interpreted as an attempt to lead this nation into an unwanted war. What they say is simply that the American people are bound to be seriously concerned about the threat to peace which has arisen in the East ; that we cannot, either with honour or with safety, play the rôle of the hermit in the modern world, and that our Government is considering what can be done by peaceful means, in association with other nations, to uphold the sanctity of treaties and to safeguard international law.

The international law which ought to govern the policies of nations in the Far East is the law embodied in the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922. Under that treaty Japan agreed, in company with the chief Western nations, not only " to respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China," and to give that country " the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity " to develop a stable Government, but also to use its influence for the purpose of maintaining the principle of the Open Door.

The Nine-Power Treaty was much more than a pious statement of generalities or a vague proffer of good will to China. In a very concrete manner it laid the basis for a new American policy and a new British policy in the Far East. For until the Nine-Power Treaty was signed, the United States and Britain were taking steps to strengthen their position in the Far East, in order to protect their interests in that area. And it was only after Japan had agreed to the self-denying covenants contained in the Nine-Power Treaty that the United States and Britain consented to surrender their then commanding lead in battleship construction and to leave their positions in the Far East without further fortification.

It is this system of political security which is now being destroyed by the deliberate choice of the Japanese Government. China is the victim. But what gives the United States an interest of its own in the course which events have taken is the fact that the premises upon which we based our confident hopes of peace and good will in the whole Pacific area are being undermined, and that the principles which have guided our policies in the Far East for the last decade and a half no longer receive the allegiance which was pledged to them.

Mr. Stimson expresses the sentiment of the people of this country

when he opposes any suggestion of armed intervention by the Western nations in the present situation. The Nine-Power Treaty itself provides an appropriate way of action. For Article VII of that treaty declares that whenever a situation arises which in the opinon of any of the contracting Powers involves the application of the treaty, "there shall be full and frank communication between the contracting Powers concerned."

CONCESSIONS COULD BE FUN

"I had never been to Tientsin before, and I must say that it seemed more than anything else to me to be a manifestation of extraterritoriality in its most cheerful guise, what with the trees all about, and its variably demure and pompous examples of the respective national architectures, making it look something like the shop-window of an international pastrycook I could not help thinking that there was a lot to be said for extraterritoriality from a casual traveller's point of view, at least in the sense that it produces these bright little international enclaves. You cannot get the same effect anywhere, apparently, without extraterritoriality, because the various nationalities won't really do their best unless their Governments are behind them, and international prestige is involved. Soho in London is of course a relief from everyday Oxford Street, but it is shabby, almost furtive relief. If Soho were only an international concession, it would be as entertaining architecturally as it is gastronomically, and Londoners would learn there about other peoples, and see them very properly showing off. It would be a permanent international exhibition, like Tientsin. It surely is a great pity that such an excellent institution as extraterritoriality has got itself involved the world over with political susceptibilities and economic sharp practice."—*H. Vere Redman, "Contemporary Japan."*

COMMUNAL DENTURES

The Tarradellas plan, as the decree providing for collectivization and workers' control is called, is a fountain whence have welled mixed waters, whether life-giving or deleterious experience will show. They were eagerly lapped up by a thirsting proletariat, but they are not quite so palatable today. Announcements are issued—to take two recent examples only—that the charcoal sellers and the dental unions have decided to drop collectivization. Whatever the temptations to the charcoal man with his little donkey cart and gong to reassert his individuality at a time when fuel is horribly short, collectivization of teeth anyhow seemed doomed to immediate failure.—"*Times*" *report from Spain*

FISHING BY AIR

Korean fishermen have bought three aeroplanes from the Japanese Navy, and are using them to scout for shoals of fish from the air. Nearly a hundred fishing boats have been equipped with wireless, so that they may receive messages telling them of the whereabouts of fish.—*Great Britain and the East.*

BARBARIAN TOURISTS
A Defence of Americans

by BERGEN EVANS

From " Scribner's," New York

ALONG with home movies, Tyrolese hats, mispronunciations, tweeds, and *lederhosen*, our tourists, returning from the biggest season that Europe has ever known, have brought some ideas. . . .

The most remarkable conception brought back from Europe is that American tourists are disgusting people, vulgar and blatant barbarians who, in the words of one reporter of the scene, trample the treasures of art " under the awkward feet of ill-bred ignorance."

No one has given more vigorous expression to this view than Miss Maud Palmer Thayer in her article " The American Student Leaves the Reservation," which appeared in the August *Scribner's*. Miss Thayer had been the " leader " of a group of American college students, and the experience had been " tragic." In her own words, the veil of hope had been torn from her eyes as her charges " broke all the canons of taste and refinement that meant so much to their hosts." They played catch with their passports, threw their hats into the air and caught them on their heads, lolled in chairs and emitted " shrill gales of mirth, raucous sounds hard to duplicate on the Continent."

Nor was that all. A girl stole a ride on a bicycle, someone threw a beer bottle out of a train window, and one lad made no effort to cover " his nearly naked body " when his landlady (a " white-haired hostess . . . who spoke beautiful English ") entered his room. Some of the hussies, disregarding the cultured fascist conception of women as inferior beings whose sole purpose is to breed fascists, smoked cigarettes publicly *in Rome !*—while a " gravely pacing sentry " laughed in scorn and Miss Thayer writhed inwardly.

The " leader," though cultured, was shown no deference whatever. She was " left to climb uncounted flights of stairs " because the young devils had done something to the elevator " so that it failed to descend without expert mechanical treatment." (No European hotel elevator will go in any direction or for long without expert mechanical treat-

ment.) And another " leader " had to stand all night in the corridor of a train while a youthful charge slept on the compartment bench.

Miss Thayer has aptly worded a general grievance. And her complaint is given greater universality by being mingled with deep pity for the urbane Europeans who were loitering happily in their art galleries until disturbed by the " barbarians." " What *must* they think of us ? " she asks, metaphorically wringing her hands, and from a thousand teacups her words are echoed : " What *must* they think of us ? "

Well, in the first place, it doesn't matter greatly, and in the second perhaps the situation isn't as dark as it seems. I am a product of Culture myself (having had six years in an English public school as a boy, and Oxford later on). I have spent eleven years in Europe. I have served as a professional courier, conducting hundreds of these " Red Indians " (and their " leaders ") about the place. I have taught these same savages in our universities for eight years, and I wish to rise in their defence.

I am willing to admit all specific charges. It would be an inexperienced courier who could not add worse ones. One season, I remember, it was not a beer bottle but a courier who was thrown out of the train window, and another (Oh, happy recollection !) saw a particularly tiresome and cultured " leader " tied securely to a pillar in the station at Milan as the train pulled out. Every now and then we had to bail some ebullient youth out of jail, and if smoking in public was the worst breach of decorum that Miss Thayer observed in her young ladies, she must have had more than the " veil of hope " before her eyes.

Nonetheless, I maintain that the American college student touring in Europe compares favourably with his counterpart in any other nationality. And I have gazed upon the German *Touristen* and the English *Tripper*—things gruesome to recall ! The American is certainly more alert, attractive, and good-humoured. His sins are due to his excessive vitality—in itself a virtue—and the peculiar circumstances of his life at the time. He is frank, refusing to pretend to be impressed when he is not. He is sharp to detect hokum and quick to announce the detection. He is not greatly impressed by professional courtesy. He prefers honesty to suavity and comfort to antiquity. Furthermore, he sees and learns a great deal more than

he is credited with, a great deal more, I suspect, than some " leaders " do.

We Americans are too prone to self-criticism and not prone enough to criticise others. . . .

Before we condemn our own countrymen too soundly, we ought to divest ourselves of the illusion that the average European is cultured. We certainly don't have any of that feeling when we see him in our slums or when he calls at the back door with the fish. But in his own land he is thought to be inexpressibly different. There are cultured Europeans, of course, just as there are cultured Americans, though I suspect that we have the advantage of them in numbers. But the average European cares no more for art than the average American, probably less because he does not have people telling him all the time that he should. Certainly one can count three Americans to every European in any of the major galleries during the season, and the ratio is about even at other times.

Beaten in Vulgarity

Even in plain vulgarity we do not always lead the world. An American tourist with a cultural inferiority complex might be comforted if, for instance, he were to visit the house in Bunhill Fields in which Milton spent his declining years and in which *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes* were written. For he would find that it was used as an advertisement (or was when last I saw it) --with a large red-and-white sign before it—for " Milton " an antiseptic wash for false teeth !

As for rowdyism, it is regrettable that the conquerors of Ethiopia and the heroes of Guernica should be exposed to it, but there are extenuating circumstances. Glamorous posters, hypnotic lecturers, and the mendacious boasts of those who have already been abroad, all these lure our youngsters from their comfortable summer homes and pack them like sardines into second-class railway compartments. Their hair may not be white and their English may not be beautiful, but in body and spirit they are " swift, pliant and merry " and need diversion. It is no wonder that, when they do get a little liberty, they run upstairs, hooting at elevators (one of the more serious charges brought against them), and sprawl and wrestle and loll. The astonishing thing is that they sit still as much as they do.

It is alleged that such boors as our tourists cannot possibly " bring anything back with them," that they are incapable of absorbing any of the " culture " which flows like milk and honey through every European slum and hamlet. That, too, is nonsense. Of course they cannot remember all of the pictures they saw or all the facts parroted by the cathedral guides. Art is for most people a catalyst, not a food, and all above a microscopic minimum is harmlessly eliminated by a healthy system. Very few people are equipped to understand all that a really great gallery has to offer. And if you are not equipped, it is a merit not to pretend to be.

Cult of Violence

I have talked with many returned tourists and on the whole I have been astonished, considering the conditions under which they had travelled, at the amount of information they had picked up. It was not all about pictures or statues, either. Even the sleepiest tourist cannot fail eventually to notice the masses of soldiers everywhere and to meditate upon the blessing of being free from universal military service. Many have come away from the changing of the guard at Buckingham Palace wondering just what all of that show is trying to hide. The nervousness and alarm which attend any mention of Mussolini in Italy or Hitler in Germany do not wholly escape them. The shrinking of the people before uniformed authority sets them pondering. And the sight of women toiling like beasts in the field or of pale hotel employees cringing for tips moves them to reflection. . . .

Some of the boys and girls get a little rough now and then, it is true. But I wonder if even that is not more of an asset than a liability to us. Physical violence seems to be about all that some of those cultured countries respect in their international relations, and it may be a good thing to let them perceive that we have an excellent supply of it.

TIP FOR BEAUTY LOVERS

Germans must love and respect nature. This motto, printed on the " Strength Through Joy " ships, also inspires municipal development committees

In the Harz the committee has protested against the " defiling of landscapes, small towns and villages by tin advertising signs, especially those for petrol stations. It orders all such signs to be grouped on one standardised board at the entrance of each village. Each sign will show where motorists can fill up.—*Le Populaire, Paris.*

RECESSION OR DEPRESSION?

by "RAPIER"

I SPOKE last month of the high blood pressure caused by armaments and of the malaise which affected markets in the early autumn. Few people, I think, foresaw the magnitude of the slump which was to succeed the inactivity of the late summer. In the condition of "jitters" to which Wall Street was subsequently reduced it hardly needed a Dow Theorist or other market forecaster to tell us that we were in the midst of a bear market. Indeed the only strong feature in this period was the "rumour market," which attained such widespread currency on the Continent that an official statement had to be issued denying the irresponsible and scandalous accusations against the financial stability of leading London merchant banking houses. The one redeeming feature of this scandal has been a repatriation of fugitive capital by Frenchmen who were even more frightened of London than Paris.

Although such rumours were fantastic surprise has been expressed at the unsuspected volume of speculative positions outstanding in London. It was believed that the shakeout which followed the gold price scare and the first unpopular version of the National Defence tax last Spring, had cleared away the unwieldy speculative position which had been built up on the announcement of Britain's vast rearmament programme. It appears, however, that speculators who had lost money in the spring tried to get it back in Wall Street in the fall. In this attempt they found all too ready a response from those financiers who, in a period of cheap money and quiet markets, were pleased to find an outlet for their idle funds by financing share purchases for speculators on margins. Unfortunately for the latter they reckoned without Roosevelt, Mussolini and the Japanese war party—Roosevelt because his policies have undermined the confidence of business men in America, and the others because they meant war or threats of war. It was the spark of the Sino-Japanese conflict which set off the Wall Street slump. It has since grown into such proportions that American business men are asking themselves whether it does not portend a long trade depression and not the mere recession of a few months which was the most they expected. From a peak of 194.40 in March this year the Dow Jones average of industrial securities fell to under 140 in mid-October. Is this 1929 over again? Those in the best position to judge discard this view. As Mr. Winthrop Aldrich, the Chairman of the Chase National Bank, has pointed out, the break on Wall Street cannot be attributed to current business conditions

but mainly to the impaired efficiency of the market due to over-regulation by the Government. This caused the market to become very thin so that it could only absorb selling at greatly reduced prices. He urged a revision of the fixed margin limit of 55 per cent. cover. Here is an instance where London has been too easy-going with marginal cover and New York too strict. The moral for London is that if the freedom of markets is abused as it has been by some brokers this year the same fate of over-regulation as has overtaken Wall Street may be made operative in London.

Perhaps a more significant and disturbing factor is the decline in commodity prices. Consumers are holding off these markets and only buying from hand to mouth, fearing that if there is to be a real trade depression in America demand will fall off and prices fall further. Restriction of output has already been reimposed in copper and may have to be reimposed in tin and increased in rubber should there be no improvement in the next few weeks.

What then are the business prospects in the United States? The National City Bank *Review* for October finds the outlook mixed. On the one hand the high farm income, which in August was approximately 19 per cent. above that of a year ago, is an encouraging factor. Retail sales, too, which fell off in August and the first part of September, are broadening again. On the other hand steel production had fallen to 55·8 per cent. in mid-October against 75·9 per cent. a year ago. So far neither the automobile industry nor the railroads have placed new orders on a sufficient scale to warrant a recovery in steel production in the near future. The manufacturing industries which were operating at a very high rate during the summer to catch up with unfilled orders are now in need of new business, and their increased labour costs are reducing profit margins. There has, too, been a bumper cotton crop, which has caused a weakening in the price of raw cotton and threatens the growers' incomes next year. To counteract the latter factor President Roosevelt has called a special session of Congress in November to enact crop control legislation. But so far the President and his Administration have taken no other steps to offset the threatened trade depression. Meanwhile the persistent decline of security prices on Wall Street is undermining the confidence of business men who lack the courage to go ahead confidently while markets are inviting attention to the weak spots rather than to the favourable aspects of the business situation.

Anglo-American Trade Hopes

There are, however, many differences between 1929 and today. Both Britain and America have greatly increased gold reserves and are ready to use them as a basis of credit expansion should the

necessity arise. America is still spending vast sums on relief and Britain on armaments and while this continues there must be considerable purchasing power available. Moreover the high level of industrial activity in Britain should sustain demand for raw materials for some time ahead and therefore maintain the income of the raw material producing countries. But what is most needed is a further revival of international trade to take up the slack when rearmament and the building industry declines in Britain. We are still awaiting more definite news of the proposed Anglo-American trade treaty. The most encouraging reference in recent weeks was that of Mr. Eden which showed that the British Government were aware of its peculiar importance as a lead to the rest of the world. It is believed that progress is being made behind the scenes and it is anticipated that actual negotiations will replace preliminary talks as soon as the Australian elections are out of the way.

TRUST OF BANK SHARES PROGRESS

THE Managers of Trust of Bank Shares announced a distribution, payable on September 15, at the rate of 3.3326d. per Bank-Unit, free of income tax. Net distributions since the inception of the Trust have amounted to 11.6444d., equivalent to a gross yield of £4 1s. 9d. per annum on the current price of 19s. (ex-div.) per Bank-Unit. The Trust's results have therefore more than fulfilled original estimates, and they estimate that the gross yield for the current year will again exceed four per cent. on the current price. The Trust was formed to offer investors a convenient way of investing in the shares of the leading British Banks and discount companies.

We remind our readers that we are always glad to give advice on travel questions, and are in a position to obtain from the right quarters any information that may be required about tickets, hotels, etc.

WINTER HOLIDAYS MADE EASY

ORDINARY people of all ages—not only the consciously sporting—are realising more and more the good that comes of taking a winter holiday Everyone nowadays has a sufficient smattering of scientific knowledge to be aware of the health-giving properties of mountain air and sunshine ; and travel agencies have smoothed difficulties and reduced costs to such an extent that the way to the Alps lies open for all.

Even old hands need not scorn the help of the travel agencies in making their arrangements, for by booking with a party on a special train, one has the benefit of reduced fares. For newcomers to winter sports, we advise joining one of the travel agencies' parties in any case. These are not ordinary conducted tours, but just a cheerful body of men and girls being kindly shown how to get the maximum enjoyment with least waste of time And " collective action " means astonishing reductions in price. Dean & Dawson, for example, are offering an inclusive 10-day holiday in Switzerland for as little as £8 18s. 6d.—and, as they say, what could be fairer than that ? Fifteen days at a popular resort like Grindelwald, can be done for about 15 guineas, or at St. Anton am Arlberg for about 17 guineas. Rooms can be booked before leaving, and every other worry removed, except that of the weather, which is still impervious to efficient organisation.

This question of weather provides the clue to a wise choice of the right winter sports resort from among the bewildering number which display their apparently equal charms in handbooks. Christmas by no means always brings snow to all mountain slopes, as many would-be skiers faced with the mockery of green grass will remember. So for anyone who is leaving before the middle of January the best advice is—aim high and/or East. In Switzerland and Tirol it is not wise to go anywhere under 4,000 feet until later in the winter, and higher still is advisable. For instance, Zürs, on the Arlberg, which lies 5,643 feet high, would be more likely to give good sport at Christmas than St. Anton—although the latter has the advantage of a skating rink. For the same reason, the most famous Swiss resorts, such as St. Moritz, Pontresina, Mürren, Scheid-degg, etc., all of which lie round 6,000 feet, owe their particular popularity to a real natural advantage. Incidentally, it might be well to note that the much-starred Kitzbühel owes its fame to very different causes, as it is a mere 2,566 feet above sea level, and seems likely to remain there.

Pioneer spirits who enjoy leaving the beaten track—beaten at any rate by English feet—can find all they want in the way of early snow, even at lower altitudes, by journeying further East. The German resorts in the Riesengebirge, on the borders of Silesia and Czechoslovakia (Schreiberhau, Krummhübel, Spindlermühle) all offer good sport, although they lie at something less than 3,000 feet round the Schneekoppe (5,266 feet), which, next to the Zugspitze in Bavaria, is the highest mountain in Germany. These places are immensely popular with the sportsmen and women of North-Eastern Germany but few English have yet penetrated as far. The same holds good for a still more remote spot—the Tatras, both Polish and Czechoslovak.

The question of clothes and equipment worries hesitant winter holiday-makers, particularly of what was once called the

MOUNTAIN INTERLUDE

Germans on a ski-ing holiday rest in the hut at the foot of the Riedberger Horn, Allgäu, Bavaria

"fair sex." Certainly some of the pictures in the expensive fashion papers give one an alarming idea of exotic creations. But such heights can be best scaled by film stars. Workmanlike simplicity is the right keynote for sportsmen. Navy blue or black waterproofed ski-ing trousers, with a wind-jacket such as is worn on the golf course are the best external garb, although plus-fours are very popular. Leave the privilege of wearing wool on the outside to the expert who never comes in contact with the snow. Whatever else you stint on, let it not be boots, as your pleasure stands or falls with them. Remember that the mountain sun is grilling hot, and wear top garments that can be put into your rucksack till the sun disappears behind the mountain tops and the cold suddenly strikes like an icy hand.

As regards equipment, skis can be hired quite cheaply, but if there is any prospect of the holiday being repeated another year—and anyone who goes once will move heaven and earth to go every winter—it is best to invest in a good pair. It is by no means necessary to buy skis and ski-sticks in London; it is too often forgotten that there is a good choice waiting in the local shops on arrival. A rucksack, snow glasses, mitts and socks are other necessary accessories all more cheaply and just as well obtained on the spot.

Once equipped with all these evidences of sporting intent, if not achievement, the most timid rabbit will be emboldened to shout *Ski Heil!* with the best of them.

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VERNON BARTLETT SPEAKING

THIS IS MY LIFE. By Vernon Bartlett. *Chatto & Windus.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by GERALD BARRY

As I am so fortunate as to number the Editor of WORLD REVIEW and the author of *This is My Life* among my closest and best friends, praise of his new book, by me, in his own magazine, may easily be discounted in advance. Nevertheless, praise it I must, because it is a remarkable book. You will not find in it, if you should be expecting them, full length portraits of all the prominent world statesmen whom Vernon Bartlett in the course of an amazingly full half-a-lifetime has known or interviewed. Diplomats, politicians — some great figures, some merely distinguished—he meets and has met in dozens ; to him dictators are two-a-penny. But they occur in the pages of this auto-biographical sketch only incidentally.

I call it sketch because, while it is a full-length book, he has managed it with such a lightness of touch that sketch seems to be the word. He might, of course, have assembled all the instrumentalists, including a full complement of percussion, and conducted for our edification a fully-orchestrated symphony on the post-war international theme. He knows enough of Europe, its personalities and crises, to fill three or four volumes of the now fashionable sort. Perhaps he intends to do so next—I rather hope so (though I usually suspect these Intimate Guides to International Chaos) because he could do it better than any of them. But he has chosen a different and a more difficult way, and has brought it off incomparably.

Instead of an " Inside Europe " he has written an " Inside Bartlett," and the result is one of the most human, revealing, and yet at the same time informative books I have read for a very long time. You get your facts and your pen pictures right enough : they are there in plenty. Anyone who wants to recapitulate rapidly the record and personalities of the post-war European years can do so very satisfactorily through the chapters of this book. The big figures make their entries and exits, Hitler, Mussolini and all ; but, as I say, informally and as it were by accident. The main theme is Bartlett himself, and even this is handled so deftly and yet so tentatively that here too you get at the man almost in spite of, rather than because of, what he tells you about himself.

Possibly my judgment is not dispassionate, but I can think of few autobiographies that have managed quite so casually to distil the essence of their author's personality. Reading it you read Vernon Bartlett and discover the secrets of his success both at his job and as a human being—the modesty, half real and half assumed, the diffident moderation of judgment, the generosity, the temper, the intense enjoyment of every minute of living—especially, in retrospect, the bad minutes. You discover, too, because he has managed to convey his personality into these pages as he conveys it through the microphone, the secret of his unique success as a broadcaster.

There are one million seventy-eight thousand and three good stories in this book. If I quote one I must quote all. The very variety of them—he describes a meeting with the mighty in one paragraph and in the next recounts an inconsequent, amusing and rather vulgar café anecdote—is one more guide to his character. He revels in the whole of life.

LIGHT ON SIAN-FU

CHINA AT THE CROSS-ROADS. By General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. *Faber.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

CRISIS IN CHINA. By James Bertram. *Macmillan.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by SIR FREDERICK WHYTE, K.C.S.I.

THE mutiny at Sian-fu last December was a disturbing event difficult to interpret and threatening China with disaster. The story of the kidnapping of General Chiang Kai-shek by the young Marshal, Chang Hsueh-liang, filled the Press of the world for a fortnight before Christmas, but it was never fully told and, both in substance and in outline, it remained shadowy and menacing behind a veil of strict censorship. This veil is now lifted by two writers, Madame Chiang who relates her part in it, both in Nanking and in Sian itself, and Mr. Bertram who presents, for the first time in public, the case for the young Marshal and his fellow-mutineers. It is a graphic tale which they tell, and but for the fact that the war now raging in China overshadows it in magnitude and awe, their books might well have been best-sellers. Even so, they have so much to say (particularly Mr. Bertram) that is pertinent to the present issue that they deserve a wide and attentive audience. And, be it remarked, they must be read together. Having read Madame Chiang's little volume with a deep

personal interest which awoke in my mind many vivid memories of my association with her remarkable husband and herself, I passed on at once to Mr. Bertram's larger book and did not lay it down till I finished it in the small hours of the morning.

These two books are complementary. Each is incomplete without the other. From them the figure of General Chiang Kai-shek emerges as the most powerful in China, and even Mr. Bertram's critical, not to say hostile, mind is compelled to pay the tribute of greatness to the Generalissimo. As a record of history, however, they are still incomplete. Madame Chiang reveals very clearly the official state of mind in Nanking during the crisis, and no one can fail to see that her courage and cool resource played a great part in averting disaster. The reader will also realise that during that black fortnight, there were persons and cliques in the Chinese capital who, either from headstrong anger with the mutineers, or with the darker motive of exploiting the situation against their new leader, sought to press the issue by instant punitive action against the Tungpei army in Shensi. These were held in check with difficulty, but held they were and the situation saved. Of the part which General Chiang himself played, this book tells far less, and what it relates is open to some sceptical doubt as to whether the matter which appears in its last pages as being "Extracts from the General's Diary," written in captivity, has not been re-written after the event.

Mr. Bertram, on the other hand, writes frankly with great sympathy for the young Marshal and makes a remarkably good case for the conspirators of Sian-fu.

I strongly advise those who wish to appreciate the situation last December or to understand the relation between Nanking and the North-Eastern Army (the ex-Manchurians) *and* the Communists to read Mr. Bertram's book. It is true that he ignores, or glosses over, some of the ugly features of the young Marshal's Manchurian record; true, also, that he has not quite the right perspective for a true appreciation of Nanking policy, but he has written a book which throws valuable light on contemporary China and, in itself, makes first-rate reading.

PLAIN TRUTHS FROM AFRICA

LORDS OF THE EQUATOR. By PATRICK BALFOUR. *Hutchinson.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by GEORGE MARTELLI

As a writer of travel books Mr. Patrick Balfour might be said to stand half-way between Mr. Evelyn Waugh and Mr. Peter Fleming. His latest book has neither the descriptive brilliance of *Remote People* nor the suspense of *News From Tartary*. In compensation it contains a great deal of solid information, culled from its source by an alert and intelligent mind This does not mean that Mr. Balfour writes dully. On the contrary I found my interest in his long book unflagging. But it means that he is interested in the things that he sees and hears, rather than in his own reaction to them. The result in this case is a first-rate piece of *reportage*.

To obtain his material the author flew in a Belgian aeroplane to the Congo and then travelled by road, rail, and boat through Angola, the Cameroons, French Equatorial Africa, the Belgian Congo, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and Kenya.

It is a long time since the European nations were ready to jump at each others' throats for a parcel of soil in the unknown continent. The days of danger and adventure are over, but so are those of limitless hopes. "It is slowly coming to be realised that tropical Africa, compared, for instance, with the Americas, India, or Soviet Russia, is not a rich country. Large parts of it are unproductive desert or jungle. . . . Only in two of the world's vegetable products, cocoa and palm oil, does she lead the field." Mr. Balfour reflects the disillusionment he found in many of the territories he visited.

It may come as a shock to some of Mr. Balfour's readers to find British administration compared by him unfavourably with French and Belgian. On entering Tanganyika from the west he was immediately struck by the inferiority of the roads, the railway, and the mail service He considers the Colonial Service over-staffed and with the wrong type of man. Whereas the French administrator goes to Africa in pursuit of a vocation, the English does so "because he is good at passing exams and because it is held to be a suitable profession for a public school man. . . . He is the don rather than the man of action."

Mr. Balfour made a special study of the German colonial problem and the chapters on this subject have a topical interest. He puts the case for both sides very fully and clearly, but, as he rightly observes the solution is in Europe, not in Africa. He has nothing but praise for the better type of German colonist whom he met with both in the Cameroons and Tanganyika; but considers the Nazi agitators in Tanganyika a poor lot, for whom restoration offers the sole hope of escape from a state

of chronic insolvency. Among the wealthier German settlers, on the other hand, he found many who were by no means anxious to change British rule for German and one who had actually migrated to Kenya for fear of it.

Mr. Balfour has naturally much to say on the native question, which because it is also the question of labour, is fundamental in the economic development of Africa. Here again he is critical of British liberal methods. However worthy in purpose, they are not, in his view, understood by the native and conduce neither to his happiness as an individual nor to his efficiency as a worker. Mr. Balfour's preference is for benevolent despotism and in this respect his sympathies are with the pre-war German, whose rough and ready justice at least got things done, and with the post-war English settler who cannot keep a labourer or prevent his property from being robbed because of the leniency of the District Commissioner.

MUSSOLINI'S MODEL

SO GREAT A MAN. By David Pilgrim. *Macmillan*, 8*s*. 6*d*.

Reviewed by VERNON BARTLETT

IT is not our habit to review fiction in these pages : there are so many heavy volumes on international affairs to squeeze them out. But the merit of *So Great a Man* is that it is so accurate in its details that it should rank rather as biography. All the thrills one has come to associate with another *nom de plume* used by the two writers who call themselves David Pilgrim are there, and yet the book rings truer than any other historical romance I have ever read.

Napoleon strides through these pages with astonishing vitality, and yet the great attraction of the book is in the little pictures it draws for us of the humbler men whose lives he affected—the English Rifleman Harris from Blandford, trudging through the snow on that terrible retreat to Coruna, Fouché's mean little spies and murderers, the Emperor's devoted General Savary, the hawkers in the Faubourg du Temple, and scores of others are so vivid that one finds it difficult to believe one is reading of a period so remote and yet so like our own.

I am one who detests historical novels, but I congratulate David Pilgrim unreservedly on a very remarkable book. I hope he will send a copy to Signor Mussolini to remind him how difficult it is for a great leader of men not to become a pitiful and all-destroying slave of circumstances.

AN EXPERT ON THE AIR

WINGED WARFARE. By Squadron-Leader E. J. Kingston-McCloughry, D.S.O., D.F.C. *Jonathan Cape*. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Reviewed by Air-Commodore L. E. O. CHARLTON

THE appearance of *Winged Warfare* is another welcome intimation to the thinking public that a younger Air Force generation is arising to whom the problems set by air power are becoming a matter of the closest study. The author of this work has not perpetrated a book in the ordinary sense of the word, but has rather compiled in book form the various articles contributed by him, over a considerable period of time, to the more influential Service magazines. There are some who are shy of reading literary *réchauffées*, imagining it to savour of an over-baked condition. They need not be in this case. Among the contents of *Winged Warfare* are several Prize Essays ; evidence at least that they have been commended by those who are accustomed to adjudicate the merits of such writings. For a work of

this nature, indeed, inasmuch as it is the result of slow, considered thought rather than the hasty release, in flood form, of opinions pent, the system of compilation is highly suitable, and the reader, be he student or otherwise, can rest assured that he is being shown the heart of a burning subject.

Very varied, as might be expected, are the contents. In "Trenchard's Air Force," the apt lesson of attacking civilian morale by means of the bomber aircraft, working independently of operations on the ground, though in liaison with them, is driven home. An informing article on "Air Navigation" follows and is suc ceeded in its turn by the star content, "The Mediterranean Today." No one can peruse this thoughtfully worked-out chapter without becoming sadly reflective that in changing the face of nature and of man, air power has also particularly contributed to render highly uncertain the future of our Empire; unless, that is, we alter our diplomacy in accordance with hard facts and stern necessities. But each chapter, in its fashion, is as good. The one entitled "Policing by Air" is proof positive that as and when it is expedient to exact reprisals, or to nip tribal rebellion in the bud, or to assist a tribe within the law against an aggressor tribe without it, then to bomb them in the most merciful manner possible, putting their lives into their own hands by previous proclamation, is a much shorter cut, a cheaper and a more humane method towards pacification, than a ground expeditionary force.

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

SPAIN

September 16. Patrol of Mediterranean by British and French under Nyon Agreement begun.

" 17. British and French warships on non-intervention work round Spanish coast withdrawn for work of anti-piracy control. Measures to be taken against attacking aeroplanes and surface vessels under Nyon plan agreed upon.

" 19. Count Ciano intimated that Italy would be ready to join the anti-piracy patrol if given complete equality with Britain and France.

" 22. Important conversations between M. Delbos and Signor Bova-Scoppa, Italian delegate to the League on the eve of Mussolini's visit to Germany. Reported that the Italian was asked on what terms Italy would co-operate with the League; these included recognition of the Abyssinian Empire and equality in the Mediterranean. The Berlin-Rome axis and the question of Austria also, it is believed, were discussed, and a general *detente* announced in Franco-Italian relations.

" 22. Colonel Troncoso, Franco's military governor at Irun, arrested in France on charge of plotting to seize a Spanish Government submarine at Brest.

October 3 Britain and France sent joint note inviting Italy to a conference on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Spain.

" 4. H.M.S. *Basilisk* reported attacked by submarine. Depth charges dropped.

" 7 No reply received from Italy. Diplomatic representatives in Rome enquired when it might be expected.

" 8. Official Admiralty communiqué stated that *Basilisk* had been found not to have been attacked.

" 9. Reply sent by Italy declining invitation to tri-partite conference, and stating the question of volunteers in Spain should be referred back to the Non-Intervention Committee. She will take part in no conference without Germany.

" 11. *et seq.* Question of the next step in face of the Italian reply the subject of Anglo-French discussions. Section of French opinion, including M. Delbos, said to be in favour of opening the Pyrenean frontier to passage of arms to Government

Spain. Occupation of Minorca by a Franco-British force also suggested as an offset to Italian occupation of Majorca. British Government advised a last try with the Non-Intervention Committee.

October 16. Non-Intervention Committee met. Deadlock reported.

" 18. Number of Italians in Spain officially stated to be 40,000.

" 20. Italy announced substantial agreement with British plan for withdrawal of volunteers step by step.

CHINA

September 20. Nanking twice bombed by the air.

" 21. British Ambassador in Tokyo protested against Japanese bombing non-military objectives. Canton raided Final Japanese note on shooting of Sir Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen expressed regret and British Government stated incident closed.

" 22. United States protested more strongly against Japanese threat to bomb Nanking again

" 23. Enormous loss of life among civilians when Nanking bombed.

" 24. *et seq.* More protests from Ambassadors in Tokyo, including the German representative. Canton again bombed

" 27. Japanese bombing condemned by the League. Passengers on German liner reported seeing Japanese submarine sink a Chinese fleet of junks, leaving men, women and children to drown. Japanese Foreign Office issued reply to protests denying that large numbers of non-combatants had been killed, and stating that only military objectives were bombed.

October 1. Tokyo Foreign Office rejected all thought of mediation.

" 10. General Chiang-Kai-shek in broadcast speech stated that no hope of hostilities being ended in a few months

" 12. Further Japanese advances in North China.

UNITED STATES

October 5. President Roosevelt at Chicago made epoch-making speech, denouncing international lawlessness, speaking of impossibility of neutrality, and necessity of concerted action against aggressors.

October 6. Repercussions in all parts of the world. Bare summaries published in Germany and Italy. Japan resentful. Invitations issued to League members and signatories, or adherents, of the Nine-Power Treaty to a Conference.

" 7. Department of State indicated that the U.S. would join in an invitation to a Far Eastern Conference. Japan formally condemned as aggressor in similar terms to the League's resolution

GREAT BRITAIN

September 20. Mr. Eden at Geneva announced that, as a contribution to peace, Britain was prepared to consider a reduction of tariff barriers in non-self-governing British colonies.

October 5. Albert Hall gathering condemned Japan and demanded boycott.

" 7-9. Conservative Party Conference at Scarborough. *Inter alia*, resolution passed condemning any suggestion of return of colonies to Germany.

GERMANY

September 25. Mussolini arrived in Munich. Hitler accepted return invitation.

" 27. Mussolini visited Krupp's and arrived later in Berlin.

" 28. Speeches by two dictators to enormous gathering in Berlin, both emphasising desire for peace.

" 29. Mussolini left on return to Rome.

October 3. Hitler repeated German claim to colonies at Harvest Festival.

" 13. Note to Belgium guaranteeing inviolability of her territory, in all cases except if Belgium should herself attack Germany or give passage to an attacking army. Guarantee against aggression by other Powers also included.

PALESTINE

October 1. Strong action taken by British as consequence of murder of officials. Arab Higher Committee declared illegal and leading members arrested for deportation to the Seychelles. Grand Mufti dismissed.

" 14. *et seq.* Further attacks by Arabs on Jews and British. Grand Mufti fled to Syria.

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CONTENTS

CONTENTS—*continued*.

PAGE

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THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

THE WAY OF THE WORLD

by VERNON BARTLETT

AT no time since a war was fought to make the world safe for it has democracy been so sorry for itself. The British lion so often behaves like a rabbit that one is reduced to finding comfort in the recent correspondence in *The Times* asserting that very occasionally the rabbit turns the tables on the stoat and refuses to be hypnotised into the meek acceptance of its fate.

Contrary to the normal laws of science the axis invented in Rome and Berlin seems to attract rather than to repel as it revolves more madly. Portugal and possibly Franco-Spain are to join in the Anti-Communist Pact, so that there will be a complete and significant line up of totalitarian states allegedly against Communism and in fact against anything progressive in politics. Italy, who has successfully fought a war despite League sanctions ; Japan, who is now carrying on her second invasion of China in less than a decade ; Germany and Portugal, whose interventions in Spain have shown their hatred and fear of the progress of the people ; Franco, who has not hesitated to fight his own compatriots with foreign aeroplanes and tanks and cannon—not a bunch of states which inspires confidence,

but one which certainly inspires awe. "Nothing," said Oscar Wilde, "succeeds like excess."

Eyes on Czechoslovakia

The most serious fact in the world situation today is not that these dictators are so noisy but that the democracies are so dumb. Even those states which appeared to be most dependable are beginning to wilt under the blaze of Fascist propaganda. As long as Dr. Benes remains President of the Czechoslovak Republic there will be no change in the policy of alliance with France and Russia. But the difficulties of the Prague Government are nevertheless immense. Every German military manual refers to the Czechoslovak dagger pointed at the heart of Germany, and many a good Berliner now studies the map with an anxious care to decide how quickly Czechs or Russians from Czechoslovakia could drop bombs on his city. Until that dagger is blunted in some way Germany will be cautious. She would pay almost any price to destroy the bonds between Prague and Paris and Prague and Moscow.

And more and more Czechs ask themselves whether they would not be wise to make a deal with the Germans. The Sudeten Germans would thus be converted into loyal citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic. A number of commercial difficulties would disappear. The terrific sacrifices made for rearmament—considerably heavier in proportion than those made by the British taxpayer—could be reduced. The uncertainty as to whether France and Great Britain would move a finger to save Czechoslovakia if she were attacked would cease to worry, since she would have made terms with her only potential attacker. Belgium, Poland, Jugoslavia have all more or less abandoned the policy of alliance with France; why should Prague alone stand out, fighting a battle for democracy when the two greatest European democracies, Great Britain and France, show so little readiness to defend themselves and still less to defend other countries which they are pledged to defend by the League Covenant?

Such arguments are heard more and more frequently in the cafés of Prague, and who can wonder? A German-Czech understanding would give Germany control of Europe from the North Sea to the Black Sea, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. But the Czechs are not more far-sighted than any other people and are

naturally more interested in the maintenance of peace during the next few years than in the probability that a Germany which had so successfully divided Western from Eastern Europe would ultimately rob them of their national independence and would again crush under a Teutonic heel that Slav sentiment and tongue which have survived through grim centuries of oppression.

Is Democracy Finished?

It may be no bad thing that Germany should develop South-Eastern Europe as Great Britain has developed backward areas in other parts of the world. People in this country who have defended every harsh clause of the Versailles Treaty and who even now talk of the placing of all non-self-governing territories in Africa under a mandatory system as though it were the " disruption of the British Empire " would have little to grumble about. Democracy may now be a back number. Its inability to reach quick decisions in a period of quick transitions may condemn it. The idealists of the French Revolution and the buccaneers of the Industrial Revolution have between them wrought fantastic changes, but the machinery they started may have run down. Liberty for the individual was once a

POINTS OF VIEW

" Is that the state of the war you're marking? "
" Not at all, it's the state of the market."

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

religion, but religions die, or are kept alive only by a large and steady supply of martyrs. We have no right to grumble about the progress and success of Fascism unless we who call ourselves democrats are prepared to make a contribution to human security and happiness consonant with our powers and our responsibilities.

Let us get this clear. The future rulers of Germany and Italy are being brought up with so great a contempt for those freedoms and tolerances we are accustomed to consider as the essential signs of civilisation that for very many of us their victory would be as much our defeat as it is for the Jews in German ghettos or concentration camps. Our resentment against the outbursts or actions of Hitler or Mussolini has nothing to do with national pride or jealousy ; we should have no use for a British Empire which despised this freedom we so respect. It is the spirit and not the substance that matters. No doubt the next generation or its immediate successor would revive a passion for liberty of individual thought and action. But for our generation the struggle must be hard and defeat may be speedy and ignominious.

The Brussels Conference

The trouble is that we are all so damned dishonest. The Brussels Conference is a case in point. One of the principal delegates whom I met on the opening day greeted me with an appeal to produce a policy from my pocket. There was no programme for that conference except to keep the United States in a good humour. The fact that for months Japanese aeroplanes bought in Great Britain or America, flying on petrol bought in the Dutch East Indies, had been dropping bombs on Chinese women and children hardly entered into the discussions. In an extremely ugly hall two long rows of delegates argued for hours on end how best they could kid public opinion, through the intermediary of the journalists who were shut outside in the cold, into believing that serious progress was being made towards ending the war.

It is indeed important to obtain the co-operation of the United States. It is indeed true that American public opinion is very suspicious of the good and honest intentions of the European powers—and who shall blame it ? But it is as absurd to imagine that American co-operation with the democratic countries of Europe is going to be won by politicians who are too timid to take the slightest risks in the

defence of democracy. British emphasis on the difficulties of stopping Japan and on the danger which Signor Mussolini constitutes to the British Empire caused a good deal of angry discussion among the members of the American delegation. And yet Mr. Norman Davis showed no inclination to promise active American support should Great Britain become involved in war as the result of sanctions.

The truth is that members of the British Government are making two serious blunders. Not only are they wrong in believing that the majority of European nations would willingly leap to arms to protect a British Empire which had shirked all its responsibilities to help them. But they are also wrong, tragically wrong, in believing that President Roosevelt's present tendency towards co-operation is due to love for the British. Not one American in a hundred would plunge his country into war for the beautiful eyes of Neville Chamberlain. Ninety in a hundred, however, would probably follow their President in a struggle to preserve and to develop world law and order, freedom and tolerance —those intangible and spiritual assets for which men have always been prepared to make great sacrifices.

For What would You Fight?

The British Government are, I believe, making yet a third blunder. "Dick" Sheppard died before his Peace Pledge Union could show a tremendous membership. But it has set the nation thinking. He helped many people towards the conviction that in no circumstances whatsoever would they be justified in taking life, and the number of conscientious objectors would cause a very serious problem if war were to break out. The country's prisons would be filled with them, or shooting would turn them into martyrs, or they would be allowed to remain free to preach their gospel against the use of arms. Any of those three solutions would considerably weaken a Government pre-occupied with the necessity of winning a war.

There are at present some hundreds of thousands of people in this country who, unlike the Peace Pledgers, are prepared to fight. The isolationist and imperialist newspapers even argue that they are anxious to do so, that they are war-mongers, and it is true that they are impatient with a Government which has so often turned the other cheek to Signor Mussolini and other haters of democracy. Those people are the upholders of the collective system, the believers in the

League of Nations, and the national outcry against the Hoare-Laval plan showed how strong they are.

But their patience and their optimism are wearing thin. They are called war-mongers because they want their democratic system of government to survive. They feel, however, no more bitter against the dictators who attack it than against the so-called democrats who will not defend it. They see no reason to fight for a British Empire that is smug and selfish, but they would fight, and gallantly, for one that is generous, courageous and just.

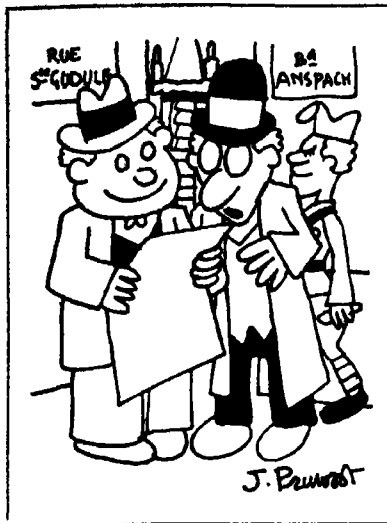
In that struggle which goes on inside the conscience of each one of us the doubt is growing whether any war in which the government is likely to involve us would be worth the fighting. Those of us who would take life to preserve the principles upon which civilisation is based will not do so to retain Britain's stranglehold over raw materials or the petty right to mark " British territory " across some area on the map of the world. For those things are, in themselves, not worth the life of a single British soldier.

The Duke of Windsor

The mercilessness with which certain people in this country, especially Conservatives and clergymen, harass our exiled ex-King is surely as stupid as it is scandalous. Heaven knows the poor young man is ill-advised, but that is no more his fault than the fault of the pomp and circumstance with which a ruling monarch is surrounded and which makes it impossible for him to know how to behave when suddenly he ceases to rule.

It is a pity that his friends should have used his genuine desire to improve the lot of the poor to give a free advertisement to National Socialism and a system of speeding-up which tends to make the poor poorer. But he ought not to be left entirely to such friends. Nobody could have tried more honestly than he to avoid embarrassing the present King or to prevent the formation of a Windsor party. He deserves a little more help and gratitude.

This vindictiveness is stupid because it will end up by creating a Windsor party, *malgré* Windsor, and, above all, because he is looked upon abroad as the victim of a cruel and unrelenting persecution. There should be, in the interests of the nation, some friend and adviser attached to his staff to stand between this ex-King who served his country well and the people who would exploit his past popularity.

PROTECTING LITTLE BELGIUM AGAIN—

"Marianne," Paris.

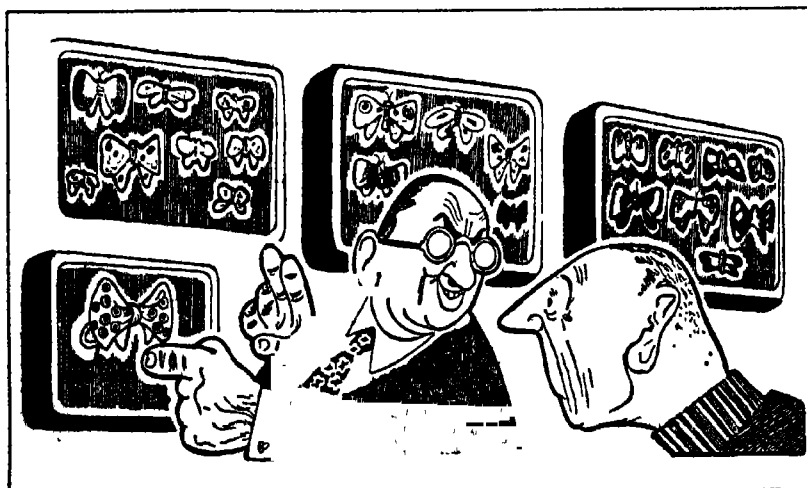
IN BRUSSELS

"Germany guarantees our inviolability ! "

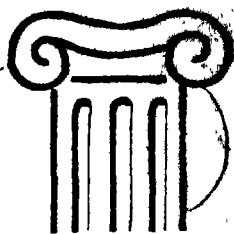
"*Mon Dieu!* Think what that's going to cost us in new fortifications ! "

"Haagsche Courant," The Hague

"ANYONE ELSE LIKE A GUARANTEE?"

TI
CONNOISSEU

"Now, what you say to t magnificent spe men?"

"Good heave man, that's the I gave you for yo birthday ! "

"Prager Presse," Prague.

THE FREE MAN'S GOAL
Which Way to a Better World?

by ALDOUS HUXLEY

In this section we publish articles by men of international fame, without necessarily sharing the opinions they express. This month we are fortunate in being able to give the following introductory extract from Mr. Aldous Huxley's new book " Ends and Means " (Chatto & Windus, 8s. 6d.). Having achieved an almost unique position as novelist and essayist, Mr. Huxley has lately concerned himself more and more with social and international problems, and has become the leader of a pacifist movement; this new book is his greatest contribution towards a solution of the vital problems of society, and its influence will be immense

ABOUT the ideal goal of human effort there exists in our civilisation and, for nearly thirty centuries, there has existed a very general agreement. From Isaiah to Karl Marx the prophets have spoken with one voice. In the Golden Age to which they look forward there will be liberty, peace, justice and brotherly love. "Nation shall no more lift sword against nation" ; "the free development of each will lead to the free development of all" ; "the world shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

With regard to the goal, I repeat, there is and for long has been a very general agreement. Not so with regard to the roads which lead to that goal. Here unanimity and certainty give place to utter confusion, to the clash of contradictory opinions, dogmatically held and acted upon with the violence of fanaticism.

There are some who believe—and it is a very popular belief at the present time—that the royal road to a better world is the road of

economic reform. For some, the short cut to Utopia is military conquest and the hegemony of one particular nation ; for others, it is armed revolution and the dictatorship of a particular class. All these think mainly in terms of social machinery and large-scale organisation. There are others, however, who approach the problem from the opposite end, and believe that desirable social changes can be brought about most effectively by changing the individuals who compose society. Of the people who think in this way, some pin their faith to education, some to psycho-analysis, some to applied behaviourism. There are others, on the contrary, who believe that no desirable "change of heart" can be brought about without supernatural aid. There must be, they say, a return to religion. (Unhappily, they cannot agree on the religion to which the return should be made.)

Ideals are Varied

At this point it becomes necessary to say something about that ideal individual into whom the changers of heart desire to transform themselves and others. Every age and class has had its ideal. The ruling classes in Greece idealised the magnanimous man, a sort of scholar-and-gentleman. Kshatriyas in early India and feudal nobles in mediæval Europe held up the ideal of the chivalrous man. The *honnête homme* makes his appearance as the ideal of seventeenth-century gentleman ; the *philosophe*, as the ideal of their descendants in the eighteenth century. The nineteenth century idealised the respectable man. The twentieth has already witnessed the rise and fall of the liberal man and the emergence of the sheep-like social man and the god-like Leader. Meanwhile the poor and downtrodden have always dreamed nostalgically of a man ideally well-fed, free, happy and unoppressed.

Among this bewildering multiplicity of ideals which shall we choose ? The answer is that we shall choose none. For it is clear that each one of these contradictory ideals is the fruit of particular social circumstances. To some extent, of course, this is true of every thought and aspiration that has ever been formulated. Some thoughts and aspirations, however, are manifestly less dependent on particular social circumstances than others. And here a significant fact emerges : all the ideals of human behaviour formulated by those who have been most successful in freeing themselves from the prejudices of their time

and place are singularly alike. Liberation from prevailing conventions of thought, feeling and behaviour is accomplished most effectively by the practice of disinterested virtues and through direct insight into the real nature of ultimate reality. (Such insight is a gift, inherent in the individual ; but, thought inherent, it cannot manifest itself completely except where certain conditions are fulfilled. The principal pre-condition of insight is, precisely, the practice of disinterested virtues.) To some extent critical intellect is also a liberating force. But the way in which intellect is used depends upon the will. Where the will is not disinterested, the intellect tends to be used (outside the non-human fields of technology, science or pure mathematics) merely as an instrument for the rationalisation of passion and prejudice, the justification of self-interest. That is why so few even of the acutest philosophers have succeeded in liberating themselves completely from the narrow prison of their age and country. It is seldom indeed that they achieve as much freedom as the mystics and the founders of religion. The most nearly free men have always been those who combined virtue with insight.

The Free Speak With One Voice

Now, among these freest of human beings there has been, for the last eighty or ninety generations, substantial agreement in regard to the ideal individual. The enslaved have held up for admiration now this model of a man, now that ; but at all times and in all places, the free have spoken with only one voice.

It is difficult to find a single word that will adequately describe the ideal man of the free philosophers, the mystics, the founders of religions. "Non-attached" is perhaps the best. The ideal man is the non-attached man. Non-attached to his bodily sensations and lusts. Non-attached to his craving for power and possessions. Non-attached to the objects of these various desires. Non-attached to his anger and hatred ; non-attached to his exclusive loves. Non-attached to wealth, fame, social position. Non-attached even to science, art, speculation, philanthropy. Yes, non-attached even to these. For, like patriotism, in Nurse Cavell's phrase, "they are not enough." Non-attachment to self and to what are called "the things of this world" has always been associated in the teachings of the philosophers and the founders of religions with attachment to an ultimate reality greater and more

significant than the self. Greater and more significant than even the best things that this world has to offer. Of the nature of this ultimate reality I shall speak in the last chapters of this book. All that I need do in this place is to point out that the ethic of non-attachment has always been correlated with cosmologies that affirm the existence of a spiritual reality underlying the phenomenal world and imparting to it whatever value or significance it possesses.

What Non-Attachment Means

Non-attachment is negative only in name. The practice of non-attachment entails the practice of all the virtues. It entails the practice of charity, for example ; for there are no more fatal impediments than anger (even "righteous indignation") and cold-blooded malice to the identification of the self with the immanent and transcendent more-than-self. It entails the practice of courage ; for fear is a painful and obsessive identification of the self with its body. (Fear is negative sensuality, just as sloth is negative malice.) It entails the cultivation of intelligence ; for insensitive stupidity is a main root of all the other vices. It entails the practice of generosity and disinterestedness ; for avarice and the love of possessions constrain their victim to equate themselves with mere things. And so on. It is unnecessary any further to labour the point, sufficiently obvious to anyone who chooses to think about the matter, that non-attachment imposes upon those who would practise it the adoption of an intensely positive attitude towards the world.

The ideal of non-attachment has been formulated and systematically preached again and again in the course of the last three thousand years. We find it (along with everything else !) in Hinduism. It is at the very heart of the teachings of the Buddha. For the Chinese the the doctrine is formulated by Lao Tsu. A little later, in Greece, the ideal of non-attachment is proclaimed, albeit with a certain pharisaic priggishness, by the Stoics. The Gospel of Jesus is essentially a gospel of non-attachment to "the things of this world," and of attachment to God. Whatever may have been the aberrations of organised Christianity—and they range from extravagant asceticism to the most brutally cynical forms of *realpolitik*—there has been no lack of Christian philosophers to reaffirm the ideal of non-attachment. Here is

John Tauler, for example, telling us that "freedom is complete purity and detachment which seeketh the Eternal ; an isolated, a withdrawn being, identical with God or entirely attached to God." Here is the author of *The Imitation*, who bids us "pass through many cares as though without care ; not after the manner of a sluggard, but by a certain prerogative of a free mind, which does not cleave with inordinate affection to any creature." One could multiply such citations almost indefinitely. Meanwhile, moralists outside the Christian tradition have affirmed the need for non-attachment no less insistently than the Christians. What Spinoza, for example, calls "blessedness" is simply the state of non-attachment ; his "human bondage," the condition of one who identifies himself with his desires, emotions and thought-processes, or with their objects in the external world.

The non-attached man is one who, in Buddhist phraseology, puts an end to pain ; and he puts an end to pain, not only in himself, but also, by refraining from malicious and stupid activity, to such pain as he may inflict on others. He is the happy or "blessed" man as well as the good man.

A few moralists—of whom Nietzsche is the most celebrated and the Marquis de Sade the most uncompromisingly consistent—have denied the value of non-attachment. But these men are manifestly victims of their temperament and their particular social surroundings. Unable to practise non-attachment, they are unable to preach it ; themselves slaves, they cannot even understand the advantages of freedom. They stand outside the great tradition of civilised Asiatic and European philosophy. In the sphere of ethical thought they are eccentrics. Similarly such victims of particular social circumstances as Machiavelli, Hegel and the contemporary philosophers of Fascism and dictatorial Communism, are eccentrics in the sphere of political thought.

Away from the Goal

Such, then, are the ideals for society and for the individual which were originally formulated nearly three thousand years ago in Asia, and which those who have not broken with the tradition of civilisation still accept. In relation to these ideals, what are the relevant contemporary facts ? They may be summed up very briefly. Instead of advancing towards the ideal goal, most of the peoples of the world are rapidly moving away from it.

"Real progress," in the words of Dr. R. R. Marett, "is progress in charity, all other advances being secondary thereto." In the course of recorded history real progress has been made by fits and starts. Periods of advance in charity have alternated with periods of regression. The eighteenth century was an epoch of real progress. So was most of the nineteenth, in spite of the horrors of industrialism, or rather because of the energetic way in which its men of good will tried to put a stop to those horrors. The present age is still humanitarian in spots; but where major political issues are concerned, it has witnessed a definite regression in charity.

Indifference to Horrors

Thus, eighteenth-century thinkers were unanimous in condemning the use of torture by the State. Not only is torture freely used by the rulers of twentieth-century Europe ; there are also theorists who are prepared to justify every form of State-organised atrocity, from flogging and branding to the wholesale massacre of minorities and general war. Another painfully significant symptom is the equanimity with which the twentieth-century public responds to written accounts and even to photographs and moving pictures of slaughter and atrocity. By way of excuse it may be urged that, during the last twenty years, people have supped so full of horrors that horrors no longer excite either their pity for the victims or their indignation against the perpetrators. But the fact of indifference remains ; and because nobody bothers about horrors, yet more horrors are perpetrated.

Closely associated with the regression in charity is the decline in men's regard for truth. At no period of the world's history has organised lying been practised so shamelessly or, thanks to modern technology, so efficiently or on so vast a scale as by the political and economic dictators of the present century. Most of this organised lying takes the form of propaganda, inculcating hatred and vanity, and preparing men's minds for war. The principal aim of the liars is the eradication of charitable feelings and behaviour in the sphere of international politics. Another point ; charity cannot progress towards universality unless the prevailing cosmology is either monotheistic or pantheistic—unless there is a general belief that all men are "the sons of God" or, in Indian phrase, that "thou art that," *tat tvam asi*.

The last fifty years have witnessed a great retreat from monotheism towards idolatry. The worship of one God has been abandoned in favour of the worship of such local divinities as the nation, the class and even the deified individual.

Such is the world in which we find ourselves—a world which, judged by the only acceptable criterion of progress, is manifestly in regression. Technological advance is rapid. But without progress in charity, technological advance is useless. Indeed, it is worse than useless. Technological progress has merely provided us with more efficient means for going backwards.

How Can Man be Changed?

How can the regression in charity through which we are living and for which each one of us is in some measure responsible, be halted and reversed? How can existing society be transformed into the ideal society described by the prophets? How can the average sensual man and the exceptional (and more dangerous) ambitious man be transformed into those non-attached beings, who alone can create a society significantly better than our own? These are the questions which I shall try to answer in the present volume.

In the process of answering them, I shall be compelled to deal with a very great variety of subjects. Inevitably; for human activity is complex, human motivation exceedingly mixed. By many writers this multifariousness of men's thoughts, opinions, purposes and actions is insufficiently recognized. Over-simplifying the problem they prescribe an over-simplified solution. Because of this I have thought it necessary to preface the main arguments of the book with a discussion of the nature of explanation. What do we mean when we say that we have "explained" a complex situation? What do we mean when we talk of one event being the cause of another? Unless we know the answer to these questions, our speculations regarding the nature and cure of social disorders are likely to be incomplete and one-sided.

Our discussion of the nature of explanation brings us to the conclusion that causation in human affairs is multiple—in other words that any given event has many causes. Hence it follows that there can be no single sovereign cure for the diseases of the body politic. The remedy for social disorder must be sought simultaneously in many

different fields. Accordingly, in the succeeding chapters, I proceed to consider the most important of these fields of activity, beginning with the political and economic and proceeding to the fields of personal behaviour. In every case I suggest the kind of changes that must be made if men are to realise the ideal ends at which they all profess to be aiming. This involves us, incidentally, in a discussion of the relation of means to ends. Good ends, as I have frequently to point out, can be achieved only by the employment of appropriate means. The end cannot justify the means, for the simple and obvious reason that the means employed determine the nature of the ends produced.

Cookery Book of Reform

These chapters, from the second to the twelfth, constitute a kind of practical cookery book of reform. They contain political recipes, economic recipes, educational recipes, recipes for the organisation of industry, of local communities, of groups of devoted individuals. They also contain, by way of warning, descriptions of the way things ought not to be done—recipes for not realising the ends one professes to desire, recipes for stultifying idealism, recipes for paving hell with good intentions.

This cookery book of reform culminates in the last section of the book, in which I discuss the relation existing between the theories and the practices of reformers on the one hand and the nature of the universe on the other. What sort of world is this, in which men aspire to good and yet so frequently achieve evil ? What is the sense and point of the whole affair ? What is man's place in it and how are his ideals, his systems of values, related to the universe at large ? It is with such questions that I shall deal in the last three chapters. To the "practical man" they may seem irrelevant. But in fact they are not. It is in the light of our beliefs about the ultimate nature of reality that we formulate our conceptions of right and wrong ; and it is in the light of our conceptions of right and wrong that we frame our conduct, not only in the relations of private life, but also in the sphere of politics and economics. So far from being irrelevant, our metaphysical beliefs are the finally determining factor in all our actions. That is why it has seemed to me necessary to round off my cookery book of practical recipes with a discussion of first principles.

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

All the world likes to read gossip about other people. Unlike film stars, neither statesmen nor diplomats hire publicity agents to tell the world their taste in toothpaste or their views on the modern girl. Hence the little human eccentricities that lurk behind the imposing figures officially presented to the world are seldom known. These personal notes aim at giving flesh and blood to the men whose names appear so often in our political articles

Kings in London

TWO of the three Kings who have been doing their Christmas shopping in London recently were already well known in England. Leopold III of Belgium was for several years at Eton ; George II of Greece spent a fair slice of his exile at a Dover Street hotel ; Boris III of Bulgaria has visited England less frequently, although he represented his father, the notorious " Foxy " Ferdinand, at the Coronation of King George V.

Teasing the Cook

Although reputed to be a model boy, Leopold had normal high spirits as a child. His tutor, Major (afterwards General) Maton, was instructed by King Albert to " try to make a good citizen of him," and, when on one occasion the French diplomat, M. Klobukowsk, rose to receive the young Prince, he was met with the priggish reply : " Please remain seated, Monsieur le Ministre ; Leopold must not think too much of himself."

Still the housekeeper of the priest who looked after his religious education used to tell how he stole her cakes and marked his height on her kitchen door.

Private Prince Leopold

At the outbreak of the war Leopold was sent to England, where he was the guest of Lord Curzon. But Belgium needed every soldier she could lay hands on and Leopold, at his own request, went back at the age of thirteen, to be enrolled as a private. A sentry-box marked " Leopold," outside the Royal Palace in Brussels, commemorates the event today.

When Antwerp fell, Private Prince Leopold was relieved of his duties to go to Eton, where he was at Mr. Lubbock's house and fagged for the Duke of Gloucester. The Allied advance in 1918 found him at the Front again, but, as soon as the Armistice was signed, he insisted on returning to Eton in order to play football for his house.

Royal Traveller

King Albert was a great believer in the formative influence of foreign travel and, before ascending to the throne, Leopold had visited the United States, Brazil, Egypt, the Sudan, the Congo, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, East Indies, Siam, Indo-China and Hong-Kong. Besides keeping an eye on the economic and agricultural development of these countries, he also took an interest in game preservation and gathered together specimens of butterflies and insects for his private collection.

Tragedy

The day after his twenty-fifth birthday, Leopold married Princess Astrid of Sweden. They were a devoted couple and were often seen dancing together in Brussels or pushing the perambulator at Le Zoute. But two years ago Queen Astrid was killed in a motor accident on the shores of Lake Lucerne, while the King was driving. The shock to the King was inconceivable and the penance which he undertook in walking behind the hearse ended in his collapse.

Within a year public affairs were claiming his full attention again, as was shown by his important pronouncement on Belgian neutrality. Slim and fair, with a sad expression on his handsome face, he often comes to England incognito. In private life he is fond of mountaineering, ski-ing and golf.

Soldier, Club-man and Diner-out

King George of the Hellenes spent twelve years of exile largely in England. Popular in society, the King was frequently to be seen at the Savoy or the Bath Club, where he was well known for his vivacity, keen sense of humour and abundant supply of anecdotes.

George, who was the eldest son of King Constantine, is a great-great-grandson of Queen Victoria, a nephew of Queen Alexandra and a nephew of the ex-Kaiser. Shortly before the war he was attached to the Prussian Guard and, during the Balkan campaigns of 1912,

served in the Greek infantry as orderly officer to his father, then Duke of Sparta.

The Monkey's Bite

Although Diadoch or Crown Prince, he was passed over on his father's deposition, in favour of his younger brother, Alexander. This was the outcome of French objections to his military training in Berlin. Constantine was recalled after Alexander had suffered a unique fate for Royalty by dying from the bite of a pet monkey. George again became Diadoch and succeeded to the throne after the Turkish victories in Asia Minor had led to his father's second abdication.

Given Notice

The Revolutionary Committee which then ruled the country gave the new King a thin time. He was treated as a nonentity and never even consulted. It used to be said that the King and the Prime Minister were the only people in Greece who were not allowed to know what was happening. A year later the King was " advised " to leave and with his wife, Princess Elizabeth of Rumania, whom he later divorced, settled down in the home of a Bucharest merchant.

Liberalism and Disillusion

Restoration became a possibility after the Venizelos-Plastinos revolt had shown up the weakness of the Republic. The King had, however, by then become accustomed to English ways and thought twice about returning to Athens. He did not want to go back at the invitation of a single party, but only after a plebiscite had been held and guarantees given that the Constitution would be respected.

He did go back, and it was not long before the Metaxas *coup d'état* showed him the value of promises and put him completely under the thumb of one party. Disillusioned, he gave Metaxas a perfunctory blessing and retired to his Palace at Corfu, where he entertained Edward VIII on his Dalmatian tour.

Ruler and Polyglot

Although King Boris was educated entirely in Bulgaria, he speaks six languages, including English, and so can rival the pre-war Balkan statesman who could be volubly unintelligible in five European tongues.

Boris was brought up a soldier and served in the first Balkan War as a captain. During the Great War he served on the staff at G.H.Q., but also had opportunities of showing his great personal courage. Once, in a storm, he almost walked into a British outpost ; another time he rescued a wounded soldier under fire.

Stormy Accession

Boris started his reign in a cloud of misfortune. The war was lost and the Treaty of Neuilly had to be signed. Shortly afterwards the Prime Minister, M. Stambolisky, was assassinated and a Communist revolt suppressed with great ruthlessness. Finally there was the bomb outrage in a Sofia cathedral. At this time the King's car was once ambushed and his chauffeur killed ; but Boris himself drove the car to safety.

Boris is warm-hearted, generous and informal in his manner. He married seven years ago Princess Giovanna of Savoy, the third daughter of the King of Italy, and the couple are very popular, even in a country where political assassination has reached its zenith. His recent efforts to tackle the I.M.R.O.—the deadly International Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation—and to improve relations with Jugoslavia, have made good progress.

On the Footplate

Most boys would like to drive engines when they grow up. But you either have to make engine-driving your career—or be a King. Boris adopted the second method and, whenever a new railway line is opened in Bulgaria, he likes to drive the first train over it. Once an explosion occurred in the engine of the Royal train. The King climbed into the engine, carried the injured driver to his own saloon, dressed his wounds and himself drove the train the rest of the way.

SINISTER

Scotland, according to an official of the Glasgow Observatory, is drifting toward Ireland—and America—at the rate of more than 8 ft. a year. Calculations show that the mainland has shifted westward 600 feet in the last 70 years. England has not joined in the movement and, consequently, Great Britain is apparently " bending in two."—*Argus*, Melbourne.

BUY JAPANESE

"Opposers of the boycott stated that if the movement spread throughout the country it would seriously prejudice the Government's foreign policy."—Newspaper report.

No, do not come to China's aid
By boycotting Japan ;
You strike a blow at British trade
With any import ban.

Do not forget to count the cost
Ere Mammon strangles Mars
By nipping with pre-Christmas frost
Our Orient Bazaars.

Atrocities we all deplore—
Let China have our prayers,
But never seek to stop the war
By wrecking stocks and shares.

Avoid reprisals and alarms
Lest dividends decrease,
Returning less to pay for arms—
The sinews of the peace.

Should not Great Britain be the last
To lead the hue and cry,
When conquering Japan has passed
Our far-flung Empire by ?

What, shall we keep her knick-knacks out,
And lose her for a friend,
When no one has the slightest doubt
Which way the war must end ?

No ! Neither snap commercial ties,
Nor strangle generous grief,
But give from Nippon's merchandise
To Mansion House Relief.

REYNARD.

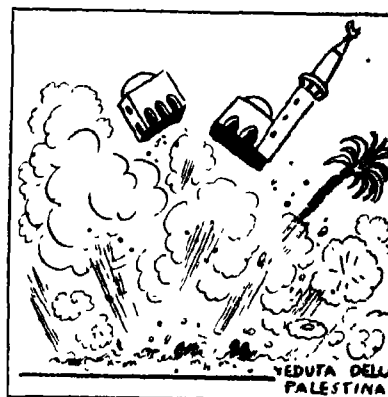
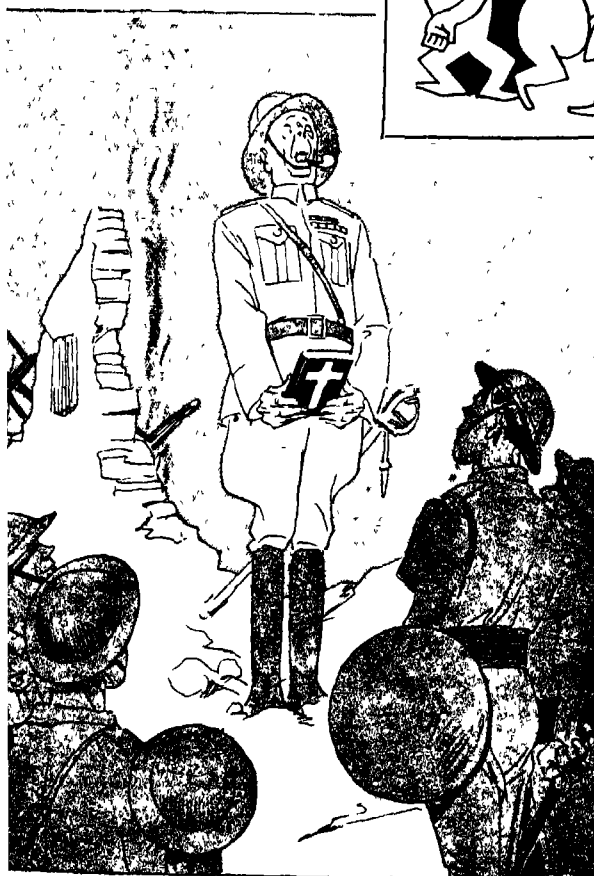
HYPOCRITES IN THE HOLY LAND—

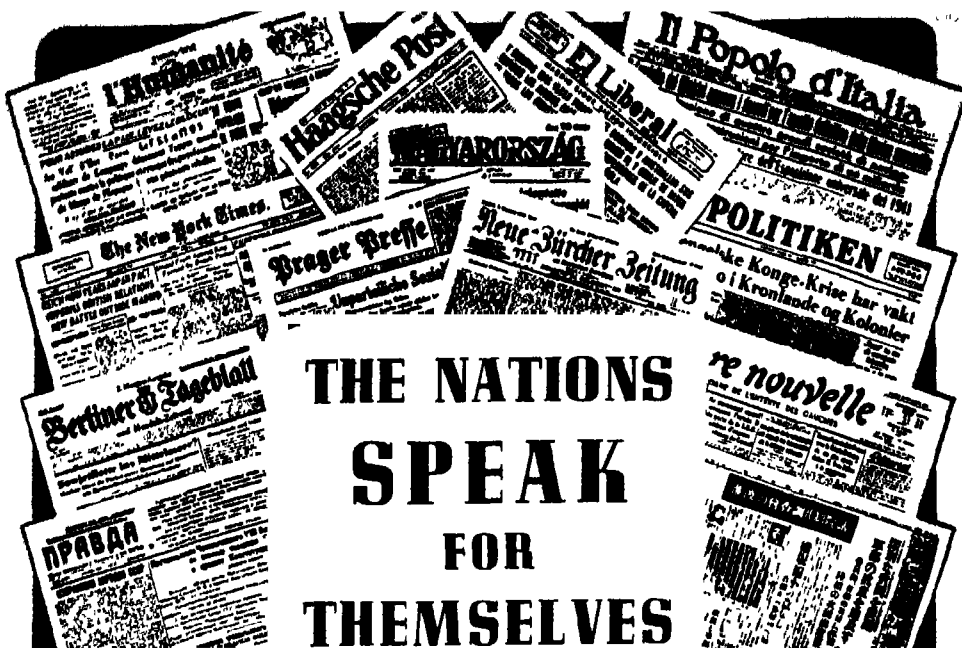
NOT ANGLES, BUT ANGELS

"Whatever we do or omit to do, it's all in the cause of Peace"

"Nebelspalter," Switzerland

"I thank thee, God, that we are not like those Franco people in Spain!"

Garvens, "Kladderadatsch," Berlin

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome

PALESTINE SCENE

THE ARAB WORLD IN UNREST—

MUSSOLINI, CHAMPION OF ISLAM

From the "Berliner Tageblatt"

From one of Germany's best-informed newspapers comes this frank statement of Signor Mussolini's aims and methods in the Arab lands

THE weekly review *Azione Coloniale*, which is closely connected with the Ministry of Italian Africa, recently displayed two documents side by side, which by reason of their juxtaposition were extraordinarily impressive. They were :

From the message of the Imam of Yemen to the Duce :

"We are profoundly grateful for the political attitude of the Italian Government towards us and all other Muslim countries and we hope that such a policy will continue to make further progress."

From the statement of the Grand Mufti after his arrival in Syria :

"The English should beware lest their Palestine policy alienate the sympathies of the Arabian, in fact the whole Muslim, world. We are not alone in our struggle, we shall resist to the utmost."

Eloquent documents ! They could be supplemented by reports in the Italian Press, which right from the beginning has shown the

keenest interest in the unrest in the Arabian world originating in Palestine—yes, even more than that, the Italian Press has taken up an unequivocal attitude against the British Mandate policy. The "Arabian problem" touches on political equilibrium in the Mediterranean, where Italy wants to be omnipresent. Pan-Arabian solidarity, which made its appearance after the violent measures taken by Britain against the Grand Mufti and his circle, spread like lightning to Italian Colonial possessions. The Muslims of Libya and Ethiopia ranged themselves by demonstrations of solidarity at the side of the Palestinian Arabs. Money collections for the benefit of "victims of the English Terror" were organised. There was even a rumour that the Grand Mufti would choose Libya as his place of exile.

Mussolini has scarcely ever under-estimated Islam as a political factor. Italy's colonial possessions—the Dodecanese, Libya and East Africa—all border on Arab States. Some five million Muslims are living today as loyal Italian subjects within the borders of the Empire. On the Red Sea in particular Italy has become a neighbour of the two most important Arabian States. Via the Red Sea Rome maintains connections with its Colonial Empire ; in this sea there is the most active trade between Italy's colonies and the Arabian coastal States.

First Political Reaction

Mussolini's Islam policy was subjected to particularly malicious interpretations during his trip through Libya in March this year. Malevolent comments were made in connection with his speech in Tripoli and the symbolic presentation to him of the "sword of Islam." Since these days Italian ears have been particularly on the alert for developments in the Arabian world. Could not the Palestinian Arabs' defensive struggle easily put the other Arabian States in a position to revise their political relations with Great Britain ? At any rate the concentration of Saudi Arabian forces on the frontier of Transjordania has been interpreted in Italy as the first political reaction of a Pan-Arab movement which has so far been under-estimated.

Even the mere possibility of such modifications in the position forces Italy to keener attention. Italy is harbouring no thoughts of pocketing territorial advantages or of presuming to assume England's role of protector. But Italy certainly has other ideas of the methods

by which Mandates are exercised. The manner in which France is ruling in Syria over the heads of the native population has been always scathingly criticised by Italian public opinion. And, in the case of England's administration in Palestine, the *Stampa* wrote recently quite frankly that the excitement in Palestine would not subside until the partition plan had been finally abandoned. The Arabs are thus accorded without further ado first rights over Palestine.

Old-established Friendships

While Italy is now ensuring herself the sympathies of Islam by this attitude, it must be remembered that Rome has been following a clearly aimed Arabian policy for many years. And this policy quietly bore its fruits a long time ago. Bonds of friendship unite Italy in particular with the Kingdom of Yemen, which lies directly opposite the Italian colonial possessions in the Red Sea. The treaty of friendship and trade by means of which Italy was the first European Power in 1926 to express recognition of the Yemen, was again renewed last September. The document contained formal recognition of the Italian Empire. It retains its old provisions : Italy respects the sovereignty of the Imam and he undertakes to get the supplies of material necessary for the economic reconstruction of his country from Italy. Furthermore, the monarch of the Yemen underlined his friendship for Italy in a letter to the Duce which was published in the Italian Press on October 15 with special emphasis. A noble postscript completed this declaration—thoroughbred Arab horses were sent as a truly princely gift for the King, the Crown Princes, Mussolini and Count Ciano.

With the Hedjaz also Italy has maintained well-ordered relations since 1932. The treaty of friendship concluded at that time assured Italy's Muslim subjects *inter alia* protection when visiting the holy places of Mecca. That this clause was not only a paper assurance was proved in February of this year, when Italy for the first time organised pilgrimages to Mecca from Ethiopia on a grand scale. During the Abyssinian war at all events the Arabian pacts were effective in securing the neutrality of the Arabian peoples. Not a finger was raised on the Arabian peninsula to aid Haile Selassie. Italy's policy of strict neutrality at the time of the dangerous conflict between Ibn Saud and the Imam of Yemen bore good fruit.

There is no doubt that Egypt forms the key position in Italy's eastern policy. This is due to its geographical position : Farouk's kingdom, together with the Sudan, is surrounded by Italian colonial territory. Egypt is the watchman of the Suez Canal. In Egypt Italians occupy a very strong position, the more so that they number fifty thousand. Mussolini has laid emphasis on his friendly feelings for the Egyptian people at every opportunity ; the last occasion was only a few weeks ago when he damped down the suspicions of Egyptian politicians regarding the establishment of the 20th and 21st Army Corps in Libya by a special declaration.

Italy's Islam policy is a long-term one. It is not aiming at a subjugation of or even at a protectorate over the Muslim world. It is precisely with methods which are in contrast to those of the English and French in Palestine and Syria that Italy would like to win Muslim sympathies. To all unprejudiced observers the latest events must strengthen the impression that the cleverness of this policy cannot be denied.

EGYPT STANDS ALOOF

From the "Journal des Nations," Geneva

EGYPT is, after all, a Muslim power. There are now four of them at the League of Nations, with Turkey, Iran and Iraq ; Syria and Libya will follow. Although there is now a British constellation at Geneva, shall we see the formation of an Islamic *bloc* there ?

Everywhere the Muslim world is in agitation, torn by passions, resounding with appeals for independence. A pan-Arabian treaty has united Iraq, Yemen and Saudi Arabia. The ultra-nationalist Syrians dream of a greater Syria, embracing Palestine and Transjordan. An eastern pact is to join Turkey, Iraq, Iran and even distant Afghanistan. Islam is conscious of its strength and, in the spirit of its propagandists, aims at uniting the nations in one vast spiritual community, founded on common religious and political interests.

To what degree can this Islamic dream become reality ? In a narrower sense : is Egypt prepared to enter the pan-Arab *bloc* ? Is not Egyptian nationalism only one aspect of Arab nationalism, which

would appear natural in the country that was once one of the most beautiful jewels in the Caliph's crown. True, the influence on the Muslim world of an Egypt which has reached an advanced stage of evolution, is great. But, if one remembers the complete absence of fanaticism in the ignorant fellah as well as in the Pasha of Western culture, and, moreover, the fact that a million Christian Copts make common cause with the leaders of Islamic faith, one must come to the conclusion that national feeling in Egypt, if it has any sentimental affinity with the aspirations of the Muslim world, is above all a specifically Egyptian form of patriotism.

From this we may deduce that the appeals and the offers made by the "protectors of Islam," whose affection is as recent as it is self-interested, most probably do not run the risk of finding in Egypt the same echo which met their attempts two years ago, when they were sounding the note of independence. More African than Muslim, more Mediterranean than African, Egypt can henceforth view only with distaste any attempt to involve her in adventures.

SOUTHERN ARABIAN REBELLION

From the "Popolo d'Italia," Milan
(Report from Jibuti)

The following is typical of the exaggerated reports of revolt against Britain which appear in the Italian Press. In our January issue we shall publish a special article by Mr. H. St. John Philby giving the truth about Arab unrest and Britain's action

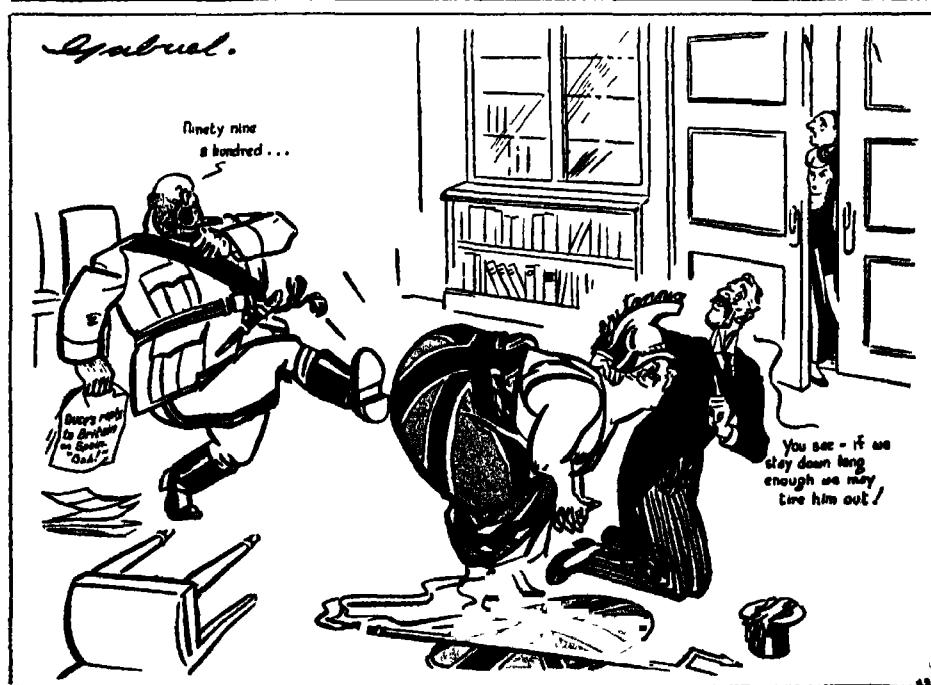
GRAVE disorders have broken out along the shores of the Gulf of Aden, and over the whole of that English Colony. The province of Hadramaut is once more in a ferment, but this time the rebellion is on a much larger scale than heretofore, synchronising with events in Palestine and with the openly hostile attitude maintained by all inhabitants of the Muslim world to English authority.

We went to the spot to ascertain the exact nature of the revolt, questioning refugees from the Hadramaut province, and merchants doing daily business with Aden. All agree as to the gravity of the position, giving full details of the severe repressive measures adopted by England, not without bloodshed.

The English occupation of the Hadramaut is quite recent, dating from the earlier months of 1937 when the British Parliament decided to extend their control to the whole region east of Aden. This incursion, which began in March, caused the people, in defence of their independence, to offer immediate opposition. It will be remembered that shots fired at a car, occupied by English officers, produced the first sudden and violent reprisals by British aircraft which, for eight days, bombarded all Hadramaut, mercilessly attacking helpless people, destroying villages, cattle, sheep and crops with powerful incendiary bombs. These measures were successful in repressing the population up to last September. Meanwhile the Governor of Aden, following the English system, imposed upon the villages heavy taxes in the form of cattle, camels and even money : furthermore, he arrested the Sultan of Seuun, the chief town of the Hadramaut, imprisoning him in Mokalla, where he is held as a hostage.

The Commander of the British Expeditionary Force charged with occupying the territory continued the task of penetration, alternating peaceful methods with forceful ones, sometimes by heavy

"The Daily Worker," London

THE NEW DIPLOMACY

bribes to the Arab leaders or by imprisonment followed by capital punishment, thus keeping the people in a state of terror.

However, as already stated, from September onwards, manifestations were resumed, fanned by news from Palestine, and today rebellion is in full swing. Armed bands of desert Bedouins have collected, bent on resisting the invader at all costs.

That same Governor of Aden, having made an air reconaissance over Dala ordered bombardments by a large force of machines on the 24th and 25th September. It is a curious fact that, though the airmen at first dropped heavy bombs destroying as much as possible and exterminating whole populations, they were afterwards content with dropping quantities of leaflets printed in Arabic begging the people to keep calm.

Britain Annexes a New State

The Commander received fresh reinforcements and prepared to advance against the rebels. It would appear, however, that owing to the turn taken by events, the English authorities prefer to attempt a compromise. With this in view, a delegation of the Amiri tribe is supposed to be meeting the Governor of Aden. The refugees in Jibuti deny any possibility of a friendly solution to the difficulty, stating that the Hadramaut has always been an independent State and that, therefore, England cannot presume to annex the country by a mere decree. Such a decree, made public in the "Statutes, Regulations and Administration of 1937, No. 246" by the Governor of Aden, states that by the decision of the Council dated 18th March, the British Government assumes full executive and legislative power over the whole Protectorate of Aden, which is tantamount to absolute sovereignty.

The Council defines the Protectorate frontiers as "that part of Arabia bounded on the south by the colony of Aden and its Gulf, on the west and on the north by the Yemen and Saudi Arabia and the Sultanate of Oman." Within these frontiers lies the entire province of Hadramaut.

Recently aeroplanes have been dropping more leaflets from which one may deduce that the first efforts towards conciliation were not too satisfactory, since they now contain an ultimatum demanding that all arms be handed over on pain of death, and threatening further

bombardments at short notice should such orders be ignored.

The seriousness of the situation is proved by the great alarm in Government and military circles at Aden, where aircraft and transport are in constant movement to and from the rebel zone.

BEWARE ARAB DESPAIR!

From "Al Jamiah al-Islamiyah," Palestine, quoted in "Current History," New York

DESPAIR is life's last station. For fifteen years we have been afflicted by you, O Britons! You are mistaken if you think there is no more in us than what you see. Behind there are things which may come upon you suddenly from whence you do not expect them. Do you not realise that you ought to fear our despair more than anything else for it is like a factory of arms and ammunition, it is a spring of stratagems, terrors and destruction?

The land is ours, it is Mohammed's and Christ's, not the land of Isaac and Israel. Islam may be asleep at present, and so you may make Palestine more and more Jewish. But one single earthquake can overturn everything. Not yet have we sent out the resounding war-cry of Islam which will make all Britons everywhere the enemies of Muslims. Beware of giving us the steed of despair, lest we ride it against you. Fear us more poor and despairing than rich and hopeful!

FRANCE'S AFRICAN TROUBLES

by GEORGES R. MANUE

From the "Petit Parisien"

France's enemies in North Africa, among whom she now numbers Italy, have seized upon Muslim discontent, which was in the first instance due to economic causes, in order to weaken France in the rear

ONE of the basic causes of the present unrest in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco is the loss of necessary contact between the French and the native population. Reasons for this estrangement have multiplied with the social and economic evolution of the three countries; its gravity, hidden in the years of prosperity, was revealed as soon as the slump came. We must not forget that the Arab-Berber peoples are deeply attached to the things of this world; their attitude

to the French is one of uncompromising realism—and how exacting they are !

We must ask ourselves whether we have indeed done everything for North Africa which our presence there demands. Social work, health services, campaigns against epidemic disease, water works : we can make out an impressive list. But can we be said to have done enough so long as we have not done everything there is to do ? When we think of the unbalanced budgets and the difficulties of the mother-country we are tempted to say that in present circumstances we could not have done more. But possession of an empire creates more duties than rights in the long constructive period which follows on conquest and pacification.

An acute political crisis arose in the troubled period which began in 1928 or 1929. This crisis has become increasingly serious, both in scope and character, fostered by the weakness of the authorities, in whom Paris does not place the complete confidence without which local leaders will not undertake responsibility.

PARIS "CRAZY WEEK" CABARET IN VIENNA

The former French Finance Minister, Paul Reynaud, stated in a lecture in Vienna that the French Army was the policeman of Europe

"Kladderadatsch," Berlin.

France realises now that she bears within herself a dangerous element which may prove fatal to this African territory of hers, from which she hoped to draw an increase of power. She is resolved to unmask her enemies there, both the internal enemies whose leaders are Frenchmen, and the others from outside.

Pressure from Outside

Germany is very well informed on Mohammedan questions. Numerous busybody organisations, sometimes professing scientific or literary objects, exist for the work in North Africa. . . . In order to get things done, money is necessary but comparatively little suffices. French experts do not seem to believe in the secret participation of the German Ministry of Propaganda which has been (rather wildly) credited with having placed 80,000,000 francs at the disposal of Islam. This is a hundred times more than is needed when what they are working on is a spirit of fanaticism which feeds upon itself. The same scepticism obtains in official quarters with regard to the Soviet millions, but the Soviet Union, too, has its Department of Mohammedan Affairs. So far they seem to have directed their attention mainly to those Muslim countries which belong to Great Britain—Egypt, the Levant, India—and to have left the work in North Africa to the care of the Third International (the Comintern).

Communism has not found a favourable soil in French possessions. The people reject it on account of its atheism and the intellectuals, while making common cause with it, do so in the spirit which considers that all means are legitimate in the struggle for the faith and that they can be dropped when they are no longer effective.

To sum up, German activities seem to be more efficiently conducted than the Russian ; they lay more stress on the psychological element and they use it cleverly. Little money is needed because apart from the leaders of the agitation, all the agents are working with genuine goodwill as devout Muslims. The password needs only to be given at the right moment and in the right ear—as we saw in the case of Hitler, the bully of the Jews—for the snowball to begin to form. The barber shops, the Moorish cafés, the markets which are held every day of the week throughout the interior are so many centres where news is received, talked over, embellished and disseminated *ad infinitum*.

Germany and Russia are not the only adversaries of our rule in North Africa. There was a time, not long ago, when Great Britain was secretly playing her part against our peace, but her anxieties in Palestine in the last two years have driven her to see that as a Mohammedan power our enemies are hers.

I shall consider the Spanish war solely from the African angle. When the tendentious news was published of a German occupation of Spanish North Africa we took occasion in these columns to treat such rumours according to their merits. But now we see Italy at the side of Germany among our adversaries in North Africa. This is not the place to go into her reasons. Newly promoted to the rank of a great Colonial power, she does not yet realise that the whole of the Occident, in face of Islam, is a single entity. She will soon understand. It is regrettable that the Arabic broadcasts from Bari should be so persistently and violently anti-French. Does she see herself holding Tripoli if Tunisia goes up in flames? Can she doubt for a moment the truth of this fact : whatever the government of France may be it will be pledged to preserve our North African *bloc*, which has become as indispensable to the equilibrium of France as the Western provinces of the motherland?

In making M. Sarraut, Minister of State, a kind of trustee for North Africa the Government has shown that it is aware of the gravity of the situation.

A DESERT BLOSSOMS
Progress in Libya and Ethiopia

From "The Christian Science Monitor," Boston

THE Fascist Government is pursuing a well-considered plan for developing Italy's North and East African possessions.

As a result of tenacious efforts an economic era is dawning for the great area hitherto aptly described as the Libyan desert. Perforations to a depth of 300 metres and more, executed under the orders of Governor Italo Balbo, have revealed the presence of a layer of artesian water. As a result, a systematic plan for sinking wells in all sections of the colony is being carried out. Thus at

Ghadames a well sunk to a depth of 370 metres yields 2,000 litres per minute, making it possible to triple the cultivated area of that oasis.

By the middle of June last, the Public Works Office in Libya had sunk wells in 14 areas in which land grants have been made, accompanied by the subsidiary works needed for utilising the great volume of water now rising steadily to the surface.

ONE OF THE DUCE'S SWARTHY STALWARTS
A native soldier from Ghadames, Libya

The discovery of water comes at a time when experimental work has succeeded in acclimatising in Libya several Brazilian forage crops, which yield as much as 550 tons of forage per hectare.

All this opens a new era for Italy's North African colony. Animal husbandry conducted on intensive lines can now become a feature of the farming which hitherto relied almost exclusively on the cultivation of plants suited to arid climates and on a pastoral industry conducted on native lines. Accordingly, the Ministry of Italian

Africa is now arranging to intensify the movement of Italian settlers to Tripolitania and Cyrenaica.

The development of the East African Empire is provided for by the measures approved by the Cabinet last June, assigning 12,000,000,000 lire, payable in six annual grants.

In addition to the above allocations, a further grant of 3,000,000,000 lire payable in three yearly instalments, is made to the Government Road Corporation for completing the highways which open up the territory.

A statement drawn up by the army-engineering corps shows that during and since the Ethiopian war, 2,300 kilometres of motor paths have been laid, 7,000 kilometres of road built, as also 2,523 lineal metres of permanent bridges, while three great landing fields for airplanes have been made and many minor works completed.

A national company for generating and distributing electric power has been formed with the participation of all the Italian industrial and commercial companies engaged in that business. A preliminary survey has identified many conspicuous sources of hydraulic power which will allow important future developments, but immediate needs can be met by installing less costly steam power stations.

Recognising that the problem of cheap transportation is basic to progress, the Italian East African Transport Company has been formed to run motor services for passengers and goods on the main highways of Ethiopia. This company is equipped with fleets of motor vehicles and is opening parking grounds, repair stations, hostels, depots for spare-parts, and filling stations.

As far back as July, 1936, a meteorological service was set up with a well-equipped central weather bureau at Addis Ababa, corresponding with some 80 sub-stations so that complete data are now available on the rainfall system of Ethiopia.

In August last the main motor highway connecting Addis Ababa, Dessie, Asmara and Massowah was opened to general traffic. It runs a distance of 1,196 kilometres and has been completed during the season of great rains which have fully tested its quality.

At the close of the rainy season, the first batch of settlers will leave Italy to start farming operations. These pioneers will be followed by successive expeditions as quickly as the requisite arrangements for securing success can be made.

THE TRIANGULAR AXIS~

RUSSIA IS HITLER'S FRIEND

From " Le Journal des Débats " (right-wing), Paris

THE anti-Communist Pact which has just been signed in Rome enables Italy, Germany and Japan to cut a fine figure as powers defending civilisation in the East and West. But it does not deprive them of any of the advantages which they obtain from Bolshevism.

Bolshevism, destructive by nature and capable of every kind of contradiction, is peculiar in that it is fundamentally the friend of its enemies and the enemy of its friends. Germany, Italy and Japan, who declare their unity in the struggle against Communism, have much less to fear from it than France, whose weak government makes her a friend of the Soviets.

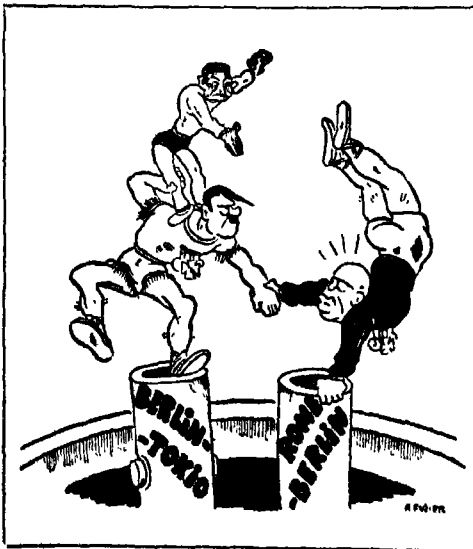
For the last twenty years Germany has excelled in making use of Bolshevism. She began by creating it, since it was she who brought Lenin back to Russia during the war and gave him the means with which to bring about a revolution. She got the treason that she was hoping for—the separate peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk was concluded and she had the opportunity of transporting to the Western Front all the forces she had been obliged to keep on the Russian front. That she failed was not the fault of the Bolshevists.

After her defeat Germany did not stop deriving profit from Soviet Russia for her industries, secret armaments, factories and aviation. Moreover, the Reichswehr has constantly favoured a policy of understanding with Russia because of the support that she thought she would find in the Red army against Poland. Even when German governments used to protest between 1919 and 1930 against this intimacy they never obtained the slightest concession from the Reichswehr.

The advent of Hitler changed nothing. Hitler has raised his voice a little more loudly against Bolshevism than Stresemann used to do. But the treaty signed at Rapallo in 1922 between Germany and Russia, completed in Berlin in 1926, and renewed since that date, has never been denounced. So far as we know, the agreement concluded several years ago between Italy and the Soviets has likewise not been denounced. The Rome pact is thus unique in that it exists

side-by-side with treaties of friendship.

The Russian General Staff, in accordance with Lenin's instructions, has remained in contact with the German General Staff. It is easy for Stalin to accuse those generals whom he wishes to get rid of, of holding documents proving conversations with foreign military chiefs. It is at the command of the Soviet Government that the Russian General Staff has maintained relations with the German army.

The case of Japan and China is a little more complicated. The Nanking government, which used to distrust Bolshevism in China, had until recently avoided war with Japan. It is Bolshevism which has of late adopted an anti-Japanese attitude, over-ridden the Nanking Government and rendered war inevitable. The Russian Communists, who had big successes in 1925-26, had been driven in 1927 from Canton. They had then formed a Red Army destined to overthrow the government of the Kuomintang. As they did not succeed they changed their tactics. They formed a sort of Chinese Popular Front, declared themselves ardent nationalists and placed a revolutionary army at the disposal of the Nanking Government. They have carried on in China more or less as they have in Spain, and finally precipitated war.

"Le Populaire," Paris

Adolf: "Hop! And now give your other hand to the Jap!"

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris.

"What's that you've got?"
"A rule for measuring an axis"

Bolshevism renders those nations which fight it the valuable service of weakening and of harassing those nations which do not fight it. It brings about unrest as desired. Germany and Italy wish to fight Communism at home and, if need be, abroad. They owed to the Soviets the opportunity for their policy in Spain. They are watching the unrest in North Africa unworried. They have no more valuable collaborator on land or sea than Bolshevism.

The Rome Pact will enable the Soviets to utter cries of alarm about their situation in order to obtain some additional help from the "democratic Powers." Perhaps here and there will be found people foolish enough to be duped by this farce. Doubtless there are plenty in England and in America. We should like to be certain that there are not still more in France where the Popular Front has almost destroyed independence of judgment.

NOPE

School authorities in at least one large city tried recently to do away with the use of the word "sir." They declared it made the users servile and menial. Not only was it placed on the "black list," but all phrases of common courtesy such as "Yes, sir," and "No, sir," were also banned. Pupils were told to reply to their teachers in monosyllables, to say "yes" and "no." Naturally these words soon degenerated to "yeah," "yep," "yah," "nope," and "naw."—*The Rotarian, Chicago.*

BRITISH AGENTS FOR FRANCO SPAIN

"Can I make a fourth?"

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

FROM VAMP TO WOMAN

From the "Berliner Tageblatt"

THE film bears the stamp of its time. It is the mirror of contemporary tastes in literature, art and fashion. It advertises new ideas and outlooks, spreads new fashions and even forms human types who become symbols of the day-dreams of millions.

There was a time when the most influential sort of film was the American "Vamp" variety, showing a type of woman lacking in heart or feeling but the prey of every sort of passion. At her feet we saw men whose careers and personalities counted for nothing, who served only as foils for the eccentricity of a caricature of a woman, to the complete destruction of their lives.

And there was, unfortunately, a time when the vamp found a ready reception in German films. That was the time when the dollar rose to astronomical heights. Germany was the playground of untrammelled passion. That was the time when Josephine Baker dared to present her dances and songs on the Berlin stage as the very latest thing, and when monster revues represented nothing less than the apotheosis of shamelessness.

At that time Marlene Dietrich achieved great success in "The Blue Angel." This film represented the climax of that tendency which completely denied the conception of womanhood and put undisguised eroticism in its place. Here all feminine feelings were trampled under foot and a kind of female ruled the screen who had no connection with real femininity, but merely represented the wish-fulfilment of a frivolous and vicious people without ethical or moral values.

A completely fresh attitude towards everyday life was necessary for these things to be seen as they really were—unhealthy and abnormal. The rebirth of German thought and feeling very soon made a good clearance in this field. A country in which the service of all for all had become the highest principle lost its taste for these phenomena of a by-gone epoch. They vanished as quickly as they had appeared, and with them the vamp too came to an inglorious

end. She was no longer seen, simply because she was no longer understood. The German people recollected that its women were too precious to be degraded as objects of unrestrained passions ; it saw that woman is designed by nature to be the companion and comrade of man, the guardian of his family and the mother of his children.

PAULA WESSELY
new Germany's film favourite No. 1, prototype of the "nice girl," as the peasant lass in "Harvest," who by her selfless devotion to the land and her aristocrat-turned-peasant master, wins his love in the happy end.

So the attitude of German films was necessarily altered. Those who had ruled the screen a short time before, the women who destroyed men, all disappeared. Their successors are quite different. They are the representatives of the new era, healthy in body and soul, full of self-confidence and the joy of life. Out of their daily work and experience German films are formed. They are rebuilding what their predecessors destroyed—the sense of the high value of marriage and motherhood.

The path which leads from the vamp to the woman is that from unrestricted selfish living to the limitation of tasks within a small

sphere. The German film has realised that it is not destined for the amusement of an international or cosmopolitan rabble, but that its mission lies in the framework of the labour and achievements of a whole people, a people which has found its way back from screaming universality to the nucleus out of which alone a nation can be formed—to the family and to marriage.

RUSSIA'S FILM HEROINE

From " Moscow Daily News "

"DAUGHTER OF THE FATHERLAND," a new film for the 20th anniversary of the Great Socialist Revolution, has just been completed by the Leningrad Film Studio of the White Russian State Cinema Trust.

The picture tells of the vigilance of collective farmers on the White Russian frontier. When the girl, Pasha, head of a collective farm, is getting ready to harvest the crops and to welcome Red Army divisions that are arriving for manœuvres, a diversionist makes his

IN THE SOVIET FILM "KOMSOMOL"—A RUSSIAN PEASANT TYPE.

way to the farm. He finds shelter at the home of Ignat, a brigadier, who, as the spy reminds him, had agreed to help a foreign spy during the German occupation of White Russia in 1918. The collective farmers and frontier guards note that some hostile force is at work on the farm but are not able to discover it immediately. The farmers, however, headed by Pasha and the chief of the frontier detachment, Borov, succeed in revealing the true character of Ignat and in wiping out the enemy. Honoured Art Worker V. V. Korsh produced the film.

HOW A COLONY CHANGED HANDS

On the 12th of September, 1914, the inhabitants of the town of Rabaul and of the country round were summoned to assemble in a large meadow at the foot of an extinct volcano At this meeting a representative of His Britannic Majesty, after taking his seat on a stand, above which floated the Union Jack, read a solemn manifesto drawn up in pidgin English. . . .

" You look him new feller flag You savvy him ? He belonga British, he more better than other feller. British new feller master he like him black feller man too much. You look out place alonga with him, he look out place alonga with you. You no fight other feller black man, you no eat man, no kill, no set fire, no be bad boy No more 'um Kaiser. God save 'um King."—*From " New Guinea Gold," by Edmond Demaitre.*

ERSATZ

The ingenuity of the German chemist is shown at its height at the Dusseldorf Exhibition, called " A Nation at Work." The most curious substitutes are to be seen—chocolate, for instance, made of " wood-sugar," extracted from wood waste. Other samples are offered as " glucose chocolate." A certain " woollen " material made from tree bark has been so successful that an advertisement proudly announces : " Ties made of this artificial wool are worn with equal pleasure by the Brazilian planter, the Javanese coffee merchant and the Norwegian shipowner."—*Excelsior, Paris.*

OURS WOULD ALL BE SNAILS

Since passengers patronising the suburban bus services operated by the Rangoon Electric Supply Co., Ltd., use any of twelve different languages, and a considerable number cannot even read or write, the company's fleet of Leyland buses has been equipped with pictures of animals instead of the usual destination indicators.—*Malta Chronicle.*

THE GRADUATE AGAIN

Graduate—I'm looking for a job, sir.

President—You look pretty good to me, but we can't afford any help at present.

Graduate—But I won't be much help, sir.—*Wall Street Journal.*

CENTRAL EUROPEAN WHIRLPOOL—

TOWARDS DANUBIAN UNITY

by D. GRAHAM HUTTON

From the "Hungarian Quarterly," Budapest

The author of this article, who is the assistant editor of "The Economist," London, gives a clear bird's-eye view of the forces which are at work to bring about an understanding between the small States which emerged on the map after the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and whose ultimate fate is far from settled

IT has ever been the unhappy lot of small States to be the pawns in the Great Powers' diplomacy. One of the most unfortunate, most foolish achievements of the European peacemakers after the Great War was the disruption of the economic free-trade area formerly in the political hand of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Today this mistake is by common consent deplored, both for its causes and effects. It is now evident to even the most chauvinistic observers, whether inside or outside the Danubian area, that—whatever rights to national self-determination justly required satisfaction after the war—the economic *Zersplitterung* of this great Central European unit has been one of the most potent causes of the political tension which now ravage the body of Europe entire. . . .

Thus, when "peace" broke out in Central Europe after 1918, the new and expanded small successor States of the Habsburg Empire reinforced their mutual political antipathies with economic insulating apparatus. Austria and Czechoslovakia, the main industrial core of the old Monarchy, set out to protect their peasant populations from the agricultural surpluses of Hungary, Yugoslavia, Roumania, Bulgaria. These latter, seeing their markets narrowed abroad and their foreign purchasing-power for industrial products therewith reduced, set out to protect new industries. In this way, each sovereign State reached a new domestic equilibrium which was costly, necessitated intolerable increases in home and foreign indebtedness for the necessary capital, and was unable to promise the same rapid increase in standards of living which had occurred before the war in the old Empire.

At the same time, the Danubian area presented a favourable diplomatic chessboard to the Great Powers of Europe ; for the solid bastion of the Empire in Central Europe—a bastion which stood four-square in history against Turks from the south-east, Russians from the north, and Germans from the north-west—had been split up into many small units, each of which might be singly exploited by the ablest diplomats of the Great Powers. First, for reasons lying outside Central Europe (notably in the failure of the Americans and British to ratify the Treaties of Mutual Guarantee for France after the war), France took the Little Entente States under her political and economic wing, in the endeavour so to provide a bastion against a resurgent Germany. Then Italy, espousing the revisionist thesis of Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria—and equally concerned lest Austria should slip into Germany's hand and bring Germany down to the Brenner and the Adriatic—marshalled the goodwill of Austrians, Hungarians and Bulgarians (Albania she already controlled) in order to secure a commanding position in Central Europe, to offset the French advance there, and to safeguard her strategic position. Finally, when the Nazi revolution occurred in 1933, Nazi Germany returned to the charge begun by Dr. Brüning and Dr. Curtius, and sought to *gleichschalten* Austria as a German *Land.* Thus, when the economic depression was at its worst in Central Europe, three Great Powers—Germany, Italy and France—were playing an odd diplomatic game on the Danubian chessboard. . . .

The Berlin-Rome Axis Rotates

Up to 1935, the three Great Powers interested in Central Europe played lone hands. But the Italo-Ethiopian war, the split over League sanctions, the consequent *rapprochement* between the German and Italian totalitarian States, and the resulting German reoccupation of the Rhineland brought Italian and German aims over Austria closer together. At the same time these influences caused a combined Italo-German drive in the Danubian area to split up the three States of the Little Entente ; to isolate Czechoslovakia and Roumania for German purposes ; to leave Hungary and Yugoslavia in the Italian ambit ; and to ignore the most fundamental question—which clearly would condition all others—the ultimate reversion of Austria.

As France after 1934 began to get into acute economic straits,

and Germany had made her Ten-years Pact with Poland at the outset of that year, the combined Italo-German attempt to construct a Rome-Berlin axis about which European politics should revolve seemed destined to be speedily successful ; the more so because French domestic troubles steadily became intensified, the Austrian Government seemed totally dependent upon German and Italian goodwill, the surprising rise of the Henlein Party (*Sudetendeutsche und Karpathendeutsche Partei*) to the largest single Party in Czechoslovakia boded ill for the Government Coalition there, and the diplomatic victory scored by Italy over British diplomacy in the Abyssinian affair suggested a British retirement from Continental politics. When the solidarity of Germany and Italy in support of the Spanish insurgents in 1936 set the seal on their combined European diplomacy, and the French and British Governments eschewed the League of Nations by trying desperately to secure real non-intervention, it appeared as if the destinies of all Central European States lay in the laps of Germany and Italy. The Rome-Berlin axis seemed a European accomplished fact ; and most observers of the European scene thought it merely a matter of months—certainly only of years—before Germany and Italy together would proceed to carve up Central Europe into their respective zones of politico-economic interest.

That, however, was—indeed, is today even more so—a superficial impression ; an impression, moreover, which, by the logic of facts, has steadily come to be more and more discounted. Adversity makes strange bedfellows ; and the political alarums and excursions in the Danubian basin during the worst economic depression it has ever known have, despite economic nationalism and political animosities, served to bring the various countries in that area closer towards a recognition of the necessity for an economic and political understanding among themselves.

* * *

In all these States, the combined threat of Italy and Germany to Austria-Czechoslovakia, only now apparent, has been working for the last twelve months to raise fears about their own future ; the future of their territorial, national, political, and economic integrity and independence of action. . . .

In addition to all these political factors, one particularly significant economic factor has been making for a Danubian understanding

THE DANUBIAN STATES *World Review*

in the last twelve months ; for during this period world prices of primary products have been steeply rising. Now, the Great Powers who intervene in the smaller Powers' affairs are nearly always industrialised, creditor Powers ; while the smaller Powers are generally —with the exception of those like Switzerland, Sweden, and Belgium —primary producers and debtors on international account. In the Danubian basin, only Czechoslovakia is both a highly industrialised State and a non-debtor on international account ; Austria, though industrialised, depends far more than Czechoslovakia on tourist traffic and exports of primary produce to balance her international account ; and the other Danubian States are almost wholly dependent, for their imports of raw materials for their protected industries and for balancing their international accounts, on their exports of primary products. These countries in the Danubian Basin were the first to fall into the depression, which began with the drop in world prices of primary products, and the last to climb out ; for the devaluations

took place first in the more industrialised States, and the more agrarian States in Central Europe preferred to maintain a nominal parity for their currencies, while subjecting both their foreign trade and their citizens' foreign exchange transactions to stringent controls. In the depression, therefore, it was natural that the smaller primary-producing States in Central, Eastern, and South-eastern Europe should fall over themselves in their haste and eagerness to find any orders for their exports. In fact, the only orders of any magnitude—owing to the great increase in tariffs and import-quotas during the depression—were to be found in the two totalitarian Great Powers' markets : i.e., under the Rome Protocols (for Austria and Hungary) or under the many bilateral clearing, compensation, and barter agreements concluded by every smaller Danubian State with Germany.

Germany's Grip

This worked to Germany's advantage ; for her imports from all these States together mounted so rapidly that her primary needs were met, without her being able to defray the cost with her own exports to these countries. These exports, moreover, were limited in kind ; for the Nazi re-armament programme forbade the export of all and sundry kinds of German industrial manufactures. Thus, in time, and notably in 1936 and 1937 as world primary prices rose, the authorities in the Danubian States found their frozen balances of Reichsmarks in Germany mounting higher and higher. They could not get the qualities and kinds of German manufactures they wanted ; and they could not get enough of *any* exports from Germany to wipe out their commercial credits frozen in Germany. Such, for example, was notably the case with Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, and, to a less extent at certain times, with Hungary. When the realisation of the economic dangers of this German foreign trade procedure spread in commercial and political circles in every Danubian primary-producing State in 1936 and 1937, the realisation also spread that—with world prices rising in free markets like London, Liverpool, Amsterdam, Antwerp, New York—trade with the latter markets, from which export proceeds in freely disposable *devisen* would arise, was henceforth much more profitable to the Danubian States than trade for blocked currencies in controlled markets, against a limited range of exports, and without securing all the value of the goods sent to such controlled markets until years had passed. . . .

This economic factor—stimulated by recovery in the British, American, South American, Scandinavian and Netherlands trading area, and reinforced by rapid rises in world prices reckoned in free *devisen*—has played a great part in bringing the outlooks of Austrian, Czech, Hungarian, Roumanian, and Yugoslav bankers, merchants, landowners, manufacturers, and (consequently) statesmen much closer to unity than ever before. . . .

Nevertheless, the outlook is far from rosy for these Danubian countries. Much of their regulated trade is still bound hand and foot with the stringently controlled trade of Germany and Italy. Germany and Italy will always play a large economic role in the Danubian basin, and it is idle for French and British wellwishers of the Danubian States to imagine that Germany and Italy can be excluded from Danubian trade. They cannot, and will not, and should not. Therefore the Danubian countries, in seeking better cultural and political understanding (and their common inheritance and arts show greater similarities than dissimilarities, just as their vital interests today are more identical than different) must also increase the economic relationships that bind them together. And that is hard for countries which, for a decade and a half, have protected economic interests of their own against the competing interests in neighbouring States—those of peasants, manufacturers, even artists and bankers ! Moreover, political difficulties remain : the Magyar minorities in Roumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia ; Hungary's undoubted right to equal liberty in construction and maintenance of armaments ; the relations between Austrians and Croats ; relations with Russia ; and the lamentable (because provocative of misunderstanding and ignorance) lack of a really free Press in most Danubian countries. These things are, however, easily capable of solution once the political *will* to understand and collaborate is in evidence, and once the economic *intention* to expand mutual trade is clear in all the Danubian countries.

REAL LADIES

Sometimes you run across a farmer who wants to know just what the Russians mean by a " kulak." Well, there may be exact definitions, but an example can be given of the " gentleman farmer " whose daughter was asked if the hens laid eggs.

" They can, of course," she haughtily replied, " but in our position, you understand, they don't have to."—*Daily Worker* (*N.Y.*).

THE CHURCH IN POLITICS

HOLY ROMAN SABOTAGE

by ROBERT FORSYTHE

From " New Masses " (Communist), New York

AN examination of the foreign policy of the Vatican in the past twenty years leads to the conclusion that Monsignor Pacelli (the Papal Nuncio) is the international agent in a deep-dyed plot to ruin the church. In no other way is it possible to explain the actions of the good monsignor, who goes from one diplomatic knockout to another, like an English heavyweight craving disaster. Either the famed astuteness of the Vatican is a myth or Monsignor Pacelli and Pope Pius are committing sabotage on a scale hitherto unknown to modern man.

By a series of diplomatic moves which reveal a capacity for stupidity approaching the divine, the church has managed to alienate Mexico and Spain. When such countries, steeped in the Catholic tradition, go against the church, it is an indication that the Vatican has failed in an enterprise in which it had been almost impossible to fail. The moral dereliction of the church in expressing pleasure over the fall of Málaga and remaining mute before the massacre at Guernica has tended to confirm the growing suspicion of the laity that the wisdom of the prophets has not been handed down.

In defence of Monsignor Pacelli it may be admitted that he is confronted by a problem which does not arise to plague his fellow-diplomatists. The capitalist state is a frankly amoral organisation dedicated to survival. Murder, larceny, and perjury are patriotic instruments if used to this end. The church is faced by the same problem of self-preservation but is hampered by the need of maintaining its standing as a moral and spiritual force. For this reason the world is treated to the spectacle of the church throwing the mantle of respectability over a fascist assassin like Franco, even when his victims happen to be devoted ewes of the Catholic flock. The effect upon world opinion is obvious. The church is not helped by the knowledge that the very murderers upon which it is depending for immediate benefits will in all likelihood turn and stab the Vatican for its pains.

In an era of persistent defeats, the church has been grasping at such reeds as Herr Hitler in Germany, quite unmindful of the spiritual defeat contained in an alliance with the blackest reactionary force in Europe. Having used the support of Rome as long as it would profit him, Herr Hitler then proceeded to reward the Vatican with a sharp kick in the teeth. This may only be what a great institution occasionally receives from an ungrateful ally, but by no stretch of reason can it be accounted a diplomatic victory for Monsignor Pacelli.

Overtures to France's Left

If it were a matter only of material prestige, the Vatican would be no worse off than the British Government, which is capable of keeping a dozen diplomatic balls in the air in this fashion, but the moral standing of the church is obviously not blessed by such deviousness. Loud laments against communism have little weight when they come from a source which is faced by the necessity of defending the murderer, Franco, and denouncing the murderer, Hitler, both of whom are joined in a fascist crusade against everything which a decent church should stand for. The result is that Monsignor Pacelli has been forced to the distasteful endeavour of making overtures to the Popular Front in France as an antidote to his failure in the Third Reich. Candour compels one to say that this must inevitably be an even frailer reed upon which to lean, and we should warn Monsignor Pacelli against placing his trust in such obviously unsympathetic forces. In view of papal concordats signed with every reactionary force on earth, it is hardly likely that the working classes of the world will be convinced that there is now a friend to be found in Rome.

The dilemma becomes more acute when one considers Austria. When Dollfuss acceded to the urging of Cardinal Innitzer and slaughtered the Socialist workers of Vienna, he was acting in full accord with an understanding which had been arranged between Mussolini, Hitler, and the Pope. When that part of the deal had been completed and Austria had become a Catholic-fascist state, the Vatican had every right to expect gratitude and friendship from Herr Hitler. Instead, Herr Hitler has forsaken the church and is still intent on *Anschluss* with Austria, and *Anschluss* can only mean that Austria will go the way of Germany, so far as the Holy See is concerned.

Of course there are always Ireland, and Al Smith, and Father

Coughlin. In fact, there is the United States. Just what Monsignor Pacelli was seeking to do on his hasty visit here last year has never been clear, but like Izvolsky and the Czarist ambassadors of old, Signor Pacelli was probably making an effort to salvage something from the ruins. It is possible that Monsignor Pacelli reported back to Rome that Catholics were still being allowed to vote in general elections in the United States.

" Bravo ! My dear Pacelli ! " the Pope would respond. " Such a diplomatic victory is a splendid indication of your worth to me ! "

Poles v. Bolsheviks

If one is permitted to speak of a pope as a mortal man, it is plain that the present envoy of God on earth is still suffering from the shock he received while acting as Papal Nuncio in Warsaw after the World War. Most of the blunders of the past twenty years may be traced to this practical occurrence. As Nuncio, the present Pope had thrown his weight behind the attack of the Poles on the new revolutionary state in Russia. His attempts to deal with the Bolsheviks had ended in failure ; communism was a menace that had to be crushed. The military campaign opened in a blaze of glory. Pilsudski's army drove deep into the Ukraine, and there seemed no halt to its advance. What turned a triumph into disaster was the appearance of Budyenny and his horsemen after a trek of a thousand miles, one of the great military exploits of history. The ferocity of Budyenny's charge threw the Poles into panic and utter demoralisation. They returned to the gates of Warsaw faster than they had come out, and the Russians were soon thundering at the door. It was a tense moment, and nobody resident in Warsaw at that moment is ever likely to forget it, least of all the gentleman who had been so instrumental in arranging it. French support saved Warsaw, but not before the Nuncio had experienced a shock from which he has never recovered. His hatred of communism is more than a matter of policy ; it is a personal and immediate thing to him, a remembrance of his gigantic failure, a recollection of a fear.

In the light of this a reading of the various encyclicals takes on a sense not otherwise discernible. The diplomatic policy of the Vatican has been exactly like the diplomatic policy of all Europe for twenty years : based almost entirely upon fear of communism.

When that cardinal principle is understood, much of the manœuvring loses its mysterious aspect.

NEW ANTI-GOD DRIVE

From " Trud " (organ of the Central Council of Trade Unions), Moscow

ALTHOUGH atheism in the U.S.S.R. has become a mass phenomenon, embracing the broadest sections of workers, peasants and office employees, there are, nevertheless, people who continue to be influenced by religious prejudices.

Inactivity in the field of anti-religious propaganda plays into the hands of the enemies of the Soviet people and their henchmen, the priests, mullahs and rabbis.

Centres of religious obscurantism were always hotbeds of ideology inimical to the working class. Fascist intelligence services recruit their agents among the clergy. Trotskyite-bukharinite traitors to the Soviet fatherland have done a great deal to disrupt the propagation of atheist views in the Soviet Union.

Energetic anti-religious work is necessary in order to put an end to religious prejudices. Anti-religious work is an inseparable component part of the cultural and educational work carried on by the trade unions. Anti-religious propaganda is an instrument of the political education of the masses in the spirit of Communism.

In the forthcoming elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. clergy of all shades will undoubtedly attempt to utilise the election campaign for their anti-Soviet aims ; they will speculate upon the religious feelings of backward groups of the population. The answer to this must be tenfold revolutionary vigilance on the part of trade union organisations. The machinations of churchmen must be opposed by live, vivid, convincing and extensive Bolshevik agitation and propaganda.

ARTISTS

In the Prussian Academy of Arts today General Goering opened an admirable exhibition of Italian paintings, representing all schools " from Napoleon to Mussolini," as the *D.A.Z.* puts it.—*Times.*

THE FAR-EASTERN STRUGGLE—

GERMAN EXPERTS BACK CHINA

From "Deutsche Wehr," Berlin

In view of the rumours that Herr Hitler may try to mediate between China and Japan, there is particular interest in this extract from a journal which is said to reflect the opinions of the German General Staff

THE "punitive expedition" undertaken by Japan in China has quickly developed into a real war. In many places the Japanese have won decisive victories. Nevertheless the conflict shows no sign of quickly coming to an end. Indeed—to paraphrase Lord Kitchener's words—it is impossible to say when the war will end, but what *is* certain is that it has only just begun. The more this struggle is prolonged the more it will involve the whole world. The question therefore is to know which side is likely to be victorious. Many confidently foretell a sure victory for Japan, but a more careful understanding of all the facts does not confirm this opinion. . . .

From time to time the Japanese government announces that it does not wish to fight against China, that it is not carrying on a war, but that it wishes rather to pursue a policy of moderation with the sole aim of destroying Communism and collaborating with China and, in a general way, with the people of the Far East. Such declarations have made little impression on the Chinese who believe that time is on their side, and that the longer the war lasts so the odds lessen in favour of a victory for the Japanese. It is impossible to turn the whole of China into a battlefield, but in all those districts into which the conflict may spread the Chinese will have a better knowledge of the country. Moreover, they have greater powers of resistance than the Japanese who cannot stand great extremes of heat or cold, while the Chinese remain unaffected both in frozen wastes or when working as stokers in the sweltering heat of the Red Sea.

We cannot but draw a comparison with the Napoleonic campaign in Russia in 1812. Although the Japanese may penetrate far into China, although they may win one victory after another, although they may forcibly annex whole districts—there will always remain

the vast and vital part of the country, unconquerable, thickly populated and filled with implacable hatred for the Japanese.

UNKNOWN MASTER OF JAPAN
Secrets of the Black Dragon

From " Marianne," Paris

GO back in your mind to the beginning of this century of wars and upheavals. Japan, or Nippon, as it is called today, since the name of the Empire of the Rising Sun has been officially changed, was then living in a state of growing anxiety. Russia, no longer satisfied with the possessions she already had in the Far East, had entered Manchuria, where the old Chinese fox, Li-Khung-Tchang, helped her, in the hope of opposing Japanese imperialism, and showed her the way to Korea. In Nicholas II's circle a society had been formed to exploit the forests of precious woods which skirt the banks of the river Talon. At first private, this business was soon transformed into a Russian national enterprise, so much so that when the Tokyo Government protested at Russian penetration of Korea the Russo-Japanese war was only a matter of hours. But Japan had foreseen the conflict ; since 1901 Japanese patriots had discussed in clandestine meetings the means of resisting the Russian giant. Two of these nationalist conspirators were soon to become famous throughout the entire world : Utsida and Toyama. They must be considered to be together the founders of a secret society which at once took the name of Kokourukai, which may be translated as " Beyond the Amur." This society was concerned with the river which separates Russia and China. In other words, the Japanese patriots were not only determined to prevent the Russian Empire from spreading to the Chinese bank of the Amur, but also meant to inspire Japan to establish itself on the Russian bank and to penetrate into Trans-baikalia.

Toyama ! Ask the first Japanese you meet if he knows that name and you will see how deeply it has penetrated into the soul of the nation. Today Toyama is admired outside the boundaries of Japan. He is an old man with a long beard, a sort of Asiatic Tolstoy with narrow eyes, a modern Buddhist and great lover of roses, who never

leaves his garden. Toyama commands 60,000 men who are devoted to him to the last drop of their blood. Patriotic Japan swears by him alone. But the word Kokourukai, familiar only to initiates, has been replaced in popular speech, by another, more sonorous and mysterious, more suited to the Japanese spirit ! the Black Dragon.

The Black Dragon is not a religious sect with complicated rites. Neither is it a branch of the Secret Service of the Japanese General Staff, as has been insinuated. Still less merely a department of the spy system. It is, above all, a very important patriotic organisation.

Highly-Placed Members

Of course, the actual members of this sort of supreme party, in which the Fatherland is made a god, do not want everyone to know that they belong to it, but this reticence is due to prudence. Though they only conspire for the good of the country they *do* observe the rules of this secret game above all else. No Japanese, however, would consider himself dishonoured because he had served in the ranks of the Black Dragon ; on the contrary, he would be proud of having acquired a particularly sound political and moral foundation there. Three years ago a Shanghai newspaper thought it had made a serious attack on Mr. Hirohita's reputation by revealing that the ex-Prime Minister had begun his career in a mysterious club. Far from being embarrassed, Mr. Hirohita was glad to write in his memoirs that he had, in fact, belonged to the Black Dragon when he was a student. Mr. Arita, Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Hirohita Cabinet, Mr. Ota, only recently Ambassador from Japan to Moscow, and Mr. Mousikokzi, Ambassador to Berlin—all have come from the Black Dragon, as one comes from the *Ecole Normale* or Cambridge, and make it a point of honour to remember it.

It is not only ministers and diplomats whom one finds in the paths of this labyrinth ; military leaders, priests, mere students, teachers, small commercial men, artists, sailors, and geishas belong, in different degrees, to this vast organisation. Its huge network of agents is spread over all Japan's possessions ; it begins in the palace of the Mikado, and ends only in the remote fishermen's cabins in the south of Sakhalin. It has eyes and ears in the most obscure corners of Japan.

Immediately after the war of 1914, which shook the old nations

of Europe so strongly as to create a kind of universal lassitude, young Japanese imperialism decided that its time had come. Two different forms of the ardent desire for expansion were revealed, both directly inspired by the Black Dragon. One was called continental and was supported by the army, who thought Japanese expansion should begin on the continent of Asia, starting with China. The other was supported by the admirals, who still think that the real solution to all Japan's vital problems lies in " an advance towards the Southern Seas," that is to say : towards Indo-China, Siam, Malaya, the British Indies, Australia and New Zealand. This latter idea is so disquieting that it is too often considered irresistible. The Americans have given in in advance, abandoning the Philippines and falling back on the Hawaiian Islands.

At the present moment it is the " continental " plan of the Black Dragon which is preferred in Japan : it seems, moreover, to be more suited to the destiny of the country. But a day will come when the " oceanic and naval " party will have its turn in shaping patriotic plans, and then anything is possible.

Japan's Divine Mission

But apart from this national frenzy, which is the very breath of the Black Dragon, there are realities and method. So one discovers the discreet appearance of an information service, necessary in high circles to assure the accomplishment of Japan's divine mission in the modern world. But the information service has nothing in common with the Intelligence Service, nor with the G.P.U., nor Hitler's Gestapo. Those organisations are in fact only simple official temporary institutions, in the final analysis only departments of the Civil Service in which future presidents of the Council or ambassadors do not wear themselves out. The Black Dragon, on the contrary, is a free association, the more or less permanent action of which is independent of the calculations of any particular ministry, or the politics of any particular government. The Black Dragon has a divine goal and considers that Japan is the natural and unique supreme chief of the Asiatic peoples, and of all the yellow races which despise the " whites."

Black Magic

After having conquered Manchuria, where they brought a new Empire into existence, the Japanese patriots turned to Inner Mongolia

through which they meant to penetrate to the outposts of the U.S.S.R. It was child's play for the Black Dragon to acquire direct influence over the most powerful Mongol lord, Prince Te-Wan, and to reduce him to insignificance. However, three other Mongol aristocrats resisted Japanese pressure. The Black Dragon allowed them to delay their submission awhile, but not after the autumn of 1936. They refused, for the second time, to give in. In September and October, 1936, these three rebel princes died one after the other in circumstances which have remained mysterious. Poisoning, which was suggested, is much too easy an explanation. But what answer can one give to a question which has been asked so often? Why not admit, as so many Japanese do, that the malevolent sorcery of thousands of monks and saints, turned night and day against three stubborn princes, brought them nearer and nearer to death. May not a thousand hostile emanations coming from thousands of souls controlled by one mental leader have more effect than chemists' poisons?

But if the Black Dragon employs the occult experience of Asia, it also knows how to make use of modern methods. When the Empire of the Rising Sun decided to solve the Manchurian problem and that of North China by extensive military action, it was one of old Toyama's best pupils, General Doihara, who was made chief of this special section of the Japanese General Staff in China. A few weeks after he started the campaign Manchuria, the two Mongolias and even the far eastern part of the U.S.S.R. were full of agents of the Black Dragon. This obscure work, which practically speaking never fails, goes further. The Black Dragon has its listening posts and executive agents in the interior of the U.S.S.R. and even in Western Europe.

The Black Dragon was at the back of the Russo-Japanese war. In 1914 its leaders rose against the collaboration which the Japanese navy had the effrontery to offer the English, a white navy! It was the Black Dragon which forced the Manchurian expedition of 1930. In 1936 it instigated the mutineers which endangered the life of Admiral Okada. It was the Black Dragon which sent threats of death to Mussolini, who was guilty of attacking a non-white race. And finally it is the Black Dragon which is now sending Japan to attack North China—an attack which, you will see, will turn into a very long war.

NEW ERA IN MEXICO

BACK TO THE INDIANS

by COLIN ROSS

From "Geopolitik," Heidelberg

MEXICO'S greatest misfortune is the lack of a guiding principle. To the masses the leaders cannot emphasise their communism sufficiently loudly ; but to foreigners whose capital they need they point out how the Mexican state rests upon the principle of private property and how the efforts to create a strong class of small peasants is contrary to all communist tendencies. They want to make a socialist state out of Mexico, they are fostering a fiery Mexican nationalism—and at the same time they are combating the idea of a Mexican brand of national-socialism. On Diego Rivera's great mural painting in Government House a workman is depicted with Marx's *Kapital* under his arm laughing mockingly at a caricatured professor who is trying to preach "Mexican National-Socialism" under a swastika to an equally idiotic-looking audience.

There is a great deal of talking and writing about "Indian Communism." But the communal economy peculiar to the natives is not so much meant as a vague international Marxism, which however only remains a theory too. At least the revolutionaries who have succeeded to power and riches act on their own estates and in their own businesses absolutely according to capitalist principles.

There is much talk of a Mexican nation, and the rulers act as though they could really make a uniform people out of a mixture of races by a stroke of the pen and some hundred or thousand schools.

* * *

The last century saw attempts at self-government being made in Mexico, with the rule of whites being slowly but steadily superseded by the reds. Today is the hour of the *Mestizo*. These claim to represent the real Mexico. All signs point to an uninterrupted process of re-Indianisation of Mexico. Taking the large view one cannot escape the impression that the wheel of history will continue to turn in the same direction, that the *Mestizo*, as ruler of the Creoles whom he superseded, will follow the same path and will finally resign his place to the Indian.

One proviso however must be made—provided, that no outside influence interrupts or completely stops this development. From the first days of its life as a State the shadow of the United States has fallen upon Mexico. Developments in the U.S.A. will also decide or at least influence future Mexican history.

President Roosevelt did indeed on the December 28, 1933, announce solemnly that from then on the policy of the United States was to refrain from any armed intervention in other American States. That meant for Mexico that it would be freed once and for all from the constant fear of a new American invasion and the loss of more territory, if—*if* even the most solemn assurances had not in the course of world history always been proved to be empty words. I believe a statistician once reckoned that the average duration of all international treaties concluded " for all eternity " worked out at at six months. So what can one expect from one-sided declarations !

* * *

Mexico is at present a *Mestizo* state without any form or way of life proper to it. It has still evolved neither a new race nor a new culture proper to the country. The Spaniards exterminated Indian culture, religion and social structure as far as they could ; the *Mestizos* are trying to do the same with the Spanish. As they, however, have nothing of their own to put in its place, either in material or spiritual values, they can do no better than go either back to the Indian ideal or forward to the American. Both these tendencies have alternated with one another in the course of the last ten years. At the moment both are being followed simultaneously. " Mexico for the Mexicans " is the slogan by which everyone imagines something different.

A policy of simultaneous Indianisation and Americanisation could only have good prospects if there were careful selection. But there is no question at all of this being done. Nobody knows what parts of Indian culture and thought should be maintained, or restored to the people ; nor does one find the slightest selection in the choice of American goods, ideas or customs. A friendly foreigner—not only, I believe, a European but even a critical American—can only be horrified at the hotch-potch of American things and thoughts which pour in an unceasing flood over the Mexican people.

Mexico's rulers want to make the country Indian again, and are using for that purpose the typical American idol of faith in the unlimited effects of education. Neither the school nor the church policy of the Government are suitable means to the re-Indianisation of Mexico. The Christian religion of Mexico in its present half-heathen form is an essential element of Indian life. To take it from the Indian without giving him something of equal value in its place means uprooting him spiritually and creating a dangerous desert of shifting sands.

The Mexico of Obregon, Calles and Cardenas is going through a revolutionary interval of peace. Numerous European and American travellers have praised this interlude as the dawn of a completely new epoch of peace, order and uninterrupted progress. I cannot believe this, much though I wish it for this tormented country. The revolution from 1914 to 1924 was a period of terrible blood-letting. The people are simply exhausted and too disillusioned to let themselves be plunged easily into any great new rising for the sale of principles. That does not mean that there is no unrest. On the contrary, revolt has begun again, although little about it has penetrated to the outside public, and it almost looks as if the old game of struggle for power were to continue.

How America Treated the Redskins

Only—the conditions of the game are becoming more and more difficult, the masses are becoming an always more dangerous and uncontrollable element. Furthermore, the growth of foreign financial interests, American in particular, has complicated the foreign political situation and brought intervention by the United States closer.

Should simultaneous Americanisation and Indianisation go further and fresh chaos break out in consequence, a situation may arise in which large sections of the population, even including the Indian masses, may bring about intervention by their own desire. In this connection it is extraordinarily interesting to remember the fundamental change which has taken place in American policy regarding the Red Indians. From the time of the first landing of the Pilgrim Fathers onwards, efforts have been made to exterminate the country's original inhabitants, as far as possible in accordance with the creed "Only a dead Indian is a good Indian." When only a few hundred

thousand remained, who seemed in any case to be delivered up to certain racial death, the Americans went on to civilise this remainder as quickly as possible. Faithful to the American conviction that education is everything, they were firmly convinced that they could make a white man out of a red one by appropriate instruction. With this end in view they took their children away from the Indians in earliest youth and sent them to far-distant schools, so that they did not see their parents again until after they had completed their education. Efforts were made in every way to eradicate all memory of their tribe, their tradition, their faith and their customs.

At the same time as trying to change the red Indian into a white man, or at least into a good American who only differed from other citizens by the colour of his skin, the Americans wanted to make a business deal with them. For that purpose the land allocated to the tribes, which was communal property, was changed into private property. It was then bought from the Redskins for a song—or a bottle of fire-water. So in the case of many tribes the former lords of America became landless proletarians, beggars who lived on the crumbs thrown to them by the Washington Government.

Roosevelt to the Rescue

Under President Franklin D. Roosevelt this policy was completely reversed overnight. The Indians are no longer to be made into whites but are to remain Indians. Where the process of civilisation has already gone too far attempts are being made at re-Indianisation. For this purpose the form of education has been altered from top to bottom. Children stay with their parents on the reservations. Every attempt to force them to attend Christian religious instruction or services has been forbidden ; on the contrary great weight is laid on Indian tradition both in religious and cultural respects. The old social order has been re-established and Indian private property changed back again to tribal land.

This development is still only in process. It is only to be carried through with the full knowledge and will of the individual tribes. Some isolated ones are probably already too civilised, too accustomed to white ways of life and thought, even in their lowest form, to find their way back to the old tribal relations and red traditions. But it is precisely in the South, in former Mexican territory, that the attempt

may best succeed. Should it succeed a red state will arise inside the white union of states. What is more, the Indians are to be given full political independence in these territories. All agents, police and officials are to be Indians and all posts in the Department for Indian Affairs are to be filled by Redskins as soon as there are sufficiently trained applicants available.

These autonomous Indian states may be without political significance in the U.S.A. today ; they are a red drop in a white sea. But it is significant that the effort is being made to maintain them in future unmixed. That is an attitude which hits all previous population policies in the face, since these have been—except as regards the black races—aiming at the greatest possible mixture.

How to Influence Mexico

In connection with the re-Indianisation of Mexico this fundamentally altered attitude towards the red man gains decisive significance. With such autonomous Indian states the U.S.A. would have an extremely effective means of influencing Mexican Indians. If the present mixture of unnatural, simultaneous Americanisation and Indianisation leads to new revolutions and fresh chaos, a considerable part of " white living " Mexico, whether of white blood or *Mestizos*, may look upon the hoisting of the Star-Spangled Banner almost as a lesser evil. And the Indian masses could not be played off against the intruders if the former had been previously convinced by clever propaganda and the influence of their red brothers in the U.S.A. that the United States are a better land for the red man.

These are big lines of development and future possibilities which are sketched here. But they are still in the air, or, one might say in the earth. The Pilgrim Fathers were vaguely conscious of them, as were the framers of the Constitution, when they gave the young states at the edge of the Atlantic the prophetic name, " United States of America."

DUSTY ANSWERS

A Kansas man, who has lived in the " Dust Bowl " for several years, says he has gotten so he can tell from the taste of the dust what state it comes from. The worst dust, he says, comes either from the Dakotas or eastern New Mexico. He claims that last year he ate so much North Dakota dust that he talked Swede more than half the time. Then the wind shifted and blew in from New Mexico until he got to talking Mexican.—*Wall Street Journal, N.Y.*

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

HUMANITY'S GOAL

ENDS AND MEANS. By Aldous Huxley. *Chatto & Windus* 8*s.* 6*d*

THE CONQUEST OF VIOLENCE: An Essay on War and Revolution. By Bart de Ligt. With an Introduction by Aldous Huxley *Routledge* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by H. I'A. FAUSSET

"THE ideal man," writes Mr. Aldous Huxley at the beginning of *Ends and Means*, "is the non-attached man." And this sentence sets the tone of all that follows. For although he assures us later that non-attachment is negative only in name, there is more of negative lucidity than of creative inspiration both in his diagnosis of the diseases of the modern world and his suggestions of possible ways of cure. This is only to say that he is a super-intellectual. And while he knows well the disabilities of intellectualism and defines them with his usual clarity in these pages, he inevitably expresses the deeper way of knowing and being, of which he recognises the necessity, in rather arid intellectual terms.

How external these terms can be is most apparent perhaps in the last three chapters which he considers the most important in his book because in them he has sought to define the basic beliefs upon which, as he rightly insists, all conduct finally depends. One example must suffice. He discusses at some length the worship in the West of a personal God and claims that the great mystics of every age and country have always passed beyond it to belief in an impersonal God. But the truth is that the great mystics in their direct experience of ultimate reality transcend both the personal and impersonal, as ordinarily conceived by our divided minds, in a realisation of creative Being. And to emphasise the impersonal aspect at the expense of the personal is to react from one partial conception to another

Mr Huxley, however, is concerned for most of his book not with God but with man, with the parlous state that we are in now and how we may pass from it to the condition of responsible, brotherly freedom which is the ideal goal of human effort. And if here, too, intellectual analysis often predominates over imaginative understanding, reducing the concrete reality of the world to an abstract pattern even darker and grimmer than the truth, it also prevents him from even believing that the ideal can be imposed upon men regardless of relative conditions. Writing from the standpoint of a "rational idealist" he repeatedly insists that the contexts of any reform are as important as the reform itself and that the means whereby we try to achieve something determine the end we wish to attain. The constructive suggestions he makes may seem rather fragmentary. But all that he writes of the necessity of decentralisation

and the cultivation of responsible group life is based on a true conception of the conditions governing organic growth and on a searching analysis, too, of means, at present widely adopted, which cannot result in ends desired.

In demonstrating the self-destructiveness of violence Mr. Huxley refers to "The Conquest of Violence" by the Dutch sociologist, Bart de Ligt, of which an excellent translation has just appeared. This is an admirably cogent study of the methods of non-violent resistance through the ages but particularly in recent times. His own wider and more complex study of Ends and Means is also based on the simple truth that Good makes for unity, Evil for separateness In demonstrating this truth with such cool and far-reaching lucidity he has at least helped to clear the way for the creative faith which alone can transform the world.

RAPIER OR PAPER BLUDGEON?

SPIRIT AND STRUCTURE OF GERMAN FASCISM. By R. A Brady. *Gollancz.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

GERMAN UNIVERSITIES AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM. By E Y. Hartshorne, jun. *Allen & Unwin.* 6*s.*

Reviewed by R. H. S CROSSMAN

THESE two books display a remarkable contrast in style and method. Mr. Brady is a straight Marxian. His thesis is that Fascism is both a resultant and an instrument of monopoly capitalism, and he has collected a formidable mass of literary evidence to support this theory from speeches, newspaper articles and Nazi literature. Mr. Hartshorne is more modest : he has tried simply to give a description of the changes in university organisation and university life which

Nazism has caused. He too has collected an immense mass of material but he has concentrated it into a volume, slim indeed compared with the ponderous conglomerate which Mr. Brady has produced.

Neither author is friendly to Hitlerism, and both are eager to expose to their democratic countrymen the menace of Fascism. But whereas the one will pick up any poker with which to beat his enemies, the other is scrupulously anxious to state facts and facts alone. Mr. Hartshorne knows Nazi Germany well and has tried to understand the reasons for the strange phenomenon he describes. As a result his incisive, sober and selective analysis is incontrovertible. The Nazi University is delicately dissected and the conclusion is drawn that it is nothing more than a propagandist training school from whose bondage no true leadership or scholarship can spring. Mr. Hartshorne's modesty, brevity and wit have produced a little masterpiece which should be read by anyone who cares for the future of our civilisation.

Perhaps it is not fair to contrast Mr. Brady's book with so admirable a specimen of scientific research. He has tried to paint in a series of conscientious studies a picture of *the* Fascist state, a great machine of masterly construction, perfectly geared, and smoothly running, the devilish product of monopoly capital. This Fascism has one function, the oppression of the people, one cause, the capitalist system, one enemy, the proletariat, one end, destruction by Communism. We have heard all this before, but never so ponderously, so academically, so unhistorically expounded.

I suspect that Mr. Brady is neither a frequent visitor to Germany, nor an expert student of post-war German history. If I am right, I can forgive his fantastic first chapter and understand how he has been duped by Nazi propaganda. The Fascism which he describes is the Utopian dream of many Nazi thinkers, a dream which has only a very partial counterpart in German facts. The real Nazi state is as inconsistent, as full of frictions and counter-stresses as any other political institution. It is not the perfect production of diabolical genius, but the twisted and contorted resultant of the battling forces of history. The gullible democrat who believes Mr. Brady has only one rational course open to him—to commit suicide. For if monopoly capital could really produce such a perfect machine of oppression, we had better disappear before it appears. But fortunately some of us are still sane enough to question our opponents' propaganda, and to study the facts

THE DEMOCRATIC CHOICE

A FALSE UTOPIA. By W. H. Chamberlin. *Duckworth.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by WILFRID HINDLE

CAN there be no Utopia other than that which has existed in man's mind since Plato's time? Mr. Chamberlin's analysis of Bolshevism, Fascism, and Nazi-ism suggests not. Bolshevism, in his belief, has proved a false Utopia in economics, in social matters and in politics. Economically, the Bolshevists have not only failed to fulfil their promise of a better life ; they have not even provided as good a life as that under capitalism. Socially, they have created new classes which perpetuate the old distinctions and the old privileges of capitalist society under a different guise. Politically, they have maintained a tyranny worse than that of the Tsars ; to put it arithmetically, where the assassination of a Tsar required the execution of five

men, the assassination of one of Stalin's second lieutenants requires the execution of some hundred and thirty.

Mr. Chamberlin knows the Soviet Union from end to end, Soviet theory and practice from the beginnings to the present time. His view of the Bolshevist Utopia therefore commands particular respect ; and it would in fact be accepted by most non-Communists in the democratic countries. So would his view that, with some qualifications, the Right Wing dictatorships have proved identical with the Left Wing. But, when we come to solution of the problem that dictatorships present to democracies, there would be no such identity of view.

There are many people in England, and some in France, who believe that this problem may safely be left to solve itself. Their belief is founded, first, on the view that the dictatorships of their own nature must soon fall ; next, on the view that the internal regime in one country cannot affect the internal regime in another. The first view might appear more reasonable if the Soviet regime had not existed for a score of years and the Italian Fascist regime for a dozen. The second view would be reasonable only if the countries of the world were semi-detached villas in a civilised and well-policed town. Whereas, in fact, the dictatorships are neither detached nor civilised, nor the world well-policed. On the contrary, the dictatorships are—as their supporters put it—dynamic ; and their " dynamism " has been many times illustrated at home and abroad.

What is to be democracy's answer to this " dynamism " ? Abroad, as in the case of Spain, the answer is non-intervention ; and it must be admitted an answer which has satisfied most English people. To remove the moral cotton-wool in which Englishmen like to hide their natural instinct for self-preservation, most of us would prefer

bombs over Madrid to bombs over London. But when we come to the internal problem which dictatorships present, something more positive than non-intervention is needed. It is unlikely that Sir Oswald Mosley's music-hall Blackshirts will ever be a serious menace to English traditions. But suppose a Communist or Fascist party led by someone of more constant aim were to achieve some electoral success. Should the democrat, knowing that the first act of a Communist or Fascist Government would be to substitute the German or the Russian for the English model, leave them free to express their imported beliefs to the imminent danger of his own native kind? Mr. Chamberlin, following the democratic creed to its logical conclusion, says "Yes." Many English democrats, the present writer among them, would say "No. If and when some dictatorial philosophy becomes a danger to English institutions, it must be suppressed"

ETERNAL ALIENS?

THE JEWS. By Hilaire Belloc. Third Edition. *Constable.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by NORMAN BENTWICH

HILAIRE Belloc wrote a challenging book about the Jews fifteen years ago. This is a new edition in which he reprints the original without change, but adds an introductory chapter dealing with three new factors which, as he claims, have immensely strengthened his thesis. These three things are the advance of the European Revolution in Spain, the violent reaction against the European Revolution of the Government of Berlin, with the consequent persecution of Jews throughout the German Reich ; and the maturing of the Zionist experiment in Palestine. He urges that if ever the cry "I told you so!" was well founded, it was so in the case of his book. For the theme of the original work was that the Jews are an alien body within the society they inhabit, they cannot be assimilated ; and the irritation which they set up can be disposed of only by recognition on both sides of a separate Jewish nationality—and segregation of the Jews. He poses, indeed, as the friend of the Jews ; and on the title-page—in Hebrew—and in the concluding words, in English, declares "Peace to Israel". But though his premise that the Jews are a separate nationality be admitted (and many Jews and non-Jews would admit it), his conclusion, that they must therefore be segregated from the general life, is arbitrary and runs counter to fundamental principles of our civilisation. And though he repudiates in his Preface every personal allusion, the text does not bear out his professions. The picture which a Punch artist drew, when the original book appeared, of "Hilaire the Bellocose" with a tankard of frothy beer, would be the more fitting frontispiece

Mr Belloc's writing is lively ; and his argument appears so lucid and plausible that the unwary reader is likely to accept it The trouble is that he has little scruple about statements of fact, and at the same time states them so confidently and persuasively that the reader is inclined to say : "How fairminded ! how just !" On examination the basis of the argument may be found to be a distorted fact.

In the introductory chapter he suggests that the European Revolution which has been carried to Spain is inspired by Jews. The support for that argument is that Karl Marx was a Jew, and that one of the organisers of the Government in Spain is a Russian Jew. For the rest we have an interesting excursus on the Spanish campaign with some remarkable statements, as that there are far more

Russian than Fascist volunteers, that there is virtually no propaganda on Franco's side, "because the Spanish national temper does not lend itself to this form of commercialised falsehood," and that this is primarily a religious war.

To the Nazi persecution of the Jews he is uncompromisingly opposed. It cannot succeed because it is a grave and glaring injustice, and it has no moral consecration. "The attack will prove abortive because Israel is eternal and Nazidom is certainly not eternal." He intrudes even here some strange statements of fact, as that Poland has gone to meet her Jews halfway; but adhering to his thesis that Jews should not be eliminated, but segregated, he condemns the Nazi policy.

About Zionism he has made a little modification of his former hostility in the light of new facts. The compromise suggested by the British Government in 1937 can have no finality, but it does offer a certain precarious equilibrium. Again he intrudes dogmatic statements: that we promised Palestine to the Arabs and then broke our promise, and those who made the promise now assure us that they made "a mental reservation" excluding Palestine. In face of the clear declarations that have appeared since the Palestine Report was published about the correspondence with King Hussein, that statement is unjustified. The reader should gird on his critical armour, and read an antidote

CAESAR IN THE LION'S DEN

WHAT NEXT O DUCE? By Beatrice Baskerville. *Longmans.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by GEORGE MARTELLI

THERE are few questions more pregnant than the title of this book. We allowed Mussolini to help himself to Abyssinia because we thought that Italy would thereby enter into the camp of the satisfied nations. He did indeed declare that Italy had no more territorial ambitions; but within a short time Italian deeds in Spain made those words sound rather empty. The British Government did its best to bury the hatchet of sanctions, and the *Duce* at one moment appeared ready to respond. Italian propaganda nevertheless continued to attack Britain on every front, while Italian writers and speakers scarcely bothered to conceal that their aim was to drive the British out of the Mediterranean. By sacrificing the League it was hoped at least to wean Italy from Germany; instead, the Rome-Berlin axis has been steadily strengthened and with it is now geared the combative spirit of Japan. So that today we are forced to ask, with even more urgency than two years ago: "What does Italy want?"

To this question Miss Baskerville replies in no uncertain way. "With the conquest of Abyssinia, the creation of the Italian Air Force and a large modern fleet, the *Duce* and his satellites look forward to the day when Italy is mistress of the Mediterranean. . . . The new Roman Empire cannot be established so long as Britain holds her actual position in the Mediterranean. Therefore, she must either 'co-operate with Italy' or take the consequences." The essential condition of co-operation, according to the author, is parity of armaments in the Mediterranean. Otherwise, she believes, an attack on British possessions must be considered as a serious possibility. What is more, she thinks it might succeed provided France could be neutralised "by means of menaces from Germany."

The rest of the book is a swift resumé of the events of the last ten years which have brought Italy to her present position. None are new, but it is useful to be reminded of them at the moment. The quarrel between Fascism and the Vatican, for instance, which led the Pope to give orders to the rural clergy to cease opposing the military training of children. Without the consent of the Catholic Church Mussolini would never have got his volunteers for Abyssinia. He will have no difficulty in getting them for his war on England—if ever he is so mad, or so hard pressed at home, to start it.

DANGER SPOT

WATCH CZECHOSLOVAKIA. By Richard Freund *Nelson.* 2*s* 6*d*

Reviewed by RALPH PARKER

THE conflict between Germany and Czechoslovakia is the conflict between Germany and Europe. The issue is the position of Germany in Europe, which was not settled by the Great War. If Czechoslovakia passes under German control, opposition to Germany's ambitions in Eastern Europe will have no centre and no direction, Russia will be excluded from Central Europe, Germany will reach the Mediterranean, and through Hungary will control a long portion of the shortest land route between the Atlantic and the Indian ocean.

To achieve this end, Germany is using as a pawn in power politics the *Sudetendeutsche* minority in Czechoslovakia who occupy regions that are of immense strategic importance. Germany hinders the conciliatory action of Prague towards its German minority. But it is a credit to the Czechs that today one third of the Germans should co-operate with them. If Britain decides to be misled by what Mr. Eden has called "the comfortable doctrine that we can live secure in a Western European glass house," these Activist Germans will, with Czech democracy, go down into the dark, "wiped off the map with blood and cries in the night"

Mr Freund has written a clear and firm book about the situation. One misses a description of the democratic achievements of Czechoslovakia, but within a hundred pages the general position is outlined for the layman with admirable objectivity

INTERNATIONAL BOOK GUIDE

(A number of these books will be reviewed in full in later issues)

JAPAN'S FEET OF CLAY Freda Utley *Faber* 7*s*. 6*d*

A new and enlarged edition of a really important book . an irrefutable exposure of economic conditions in Japan.

LITTLE YELLOW GENTLEMEN. Henry John May. *Cassell.* 7*s*. 6*d*.

An expose of Japan's activities in China—spies, *agents provocateurs*, shooting, smuggling, etc.—mostly based on newspaper reports.

MY RUSSIAN JAILERS IN CHINA. Georg Vasel. *Hurst & Blackett.* 18s.

The experiences of a German travelling in the Gobi Desert : realistic accounts of General Ma and his rebel army, native ceremonies, Soviet prisons. Some good photographs.

ADVENTURES IN THE EAST. Lili Korber. *Bodley Head.* 12s. 6d.

The travelogue of a sympathetic and observant woman journeying through China and Japan.

FRENCH INDO-CHINA Virginia Thompson. *Allen & Unwin* 21s.

An authoritative and informative work on the history, administration and economy of French Indo-China, and its reaction to French colonisation.

INDIA AND THE PACIFIC. C F. Andrews. *Allen & Unwin.* 3s. 6d.

Deals with the problems and progress of Indian settlers in Fiji and elsewhere in the Pacific, and with the relation of India to China and Japan.

STORM OVER SPAIN Mairin Mitchell *Secker & Warburg* 6s

An Irishwoman's account of her travels in Spain on the eve of conflict vivid impressions and parallelisms between the struggle for liberty in Spain and in Ireland

INVERTEBRATE SPAIN. Ortega y Gasset *Allen & Unwin* 7s 6d

A penetrating analysis, written in 1922, of the fundamental causes which culminated in the Revolution and the present conflict

SPANISH REHEARSAL. Arnold Lunn *Hutchinson* 10s. 6d.

A well-written book by a Franco-phil, exposing the tactics of Communism in Spain

ESCAPE TO THE PRESENT Johannes Steel *Cassell* 8s 6d.

The author, an anti-Nazi German, tells of his exciting life selling arms in the Near East, of his return to Germany, and a Nazi prison, of his escape and break with senile Europe

THESE GERMANS. Eric Taverner *Seeley Service.* 10s. 6d

An account of an unpolitical journey through Germany news and views of the German man-in-the-street on Jews, war, unemployment, etc

THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF FRANCE. Hon. George Peel. *Macmillan.* 8s 6d

An inquiry into French economic policy, which during the last thirty years has been "on a war footing," and a survey of the factors of the future.

RED EAGLE. Dennis Wheatley *Hutchinson.* 12s. 6d.

The story of Voroshilov, ex-pitboy and now commander of the Soviet army, navy and air arm, by "Public Thriller Writer No. 1"

THE BALKANS & EUROPE. Doros Alastos. *Bodley Head.* 7s. 6d.

"A study of peace and the forces of war." A reasoned survey of the developments in the Balkan Peninsula since the Peace Settlement.

WE COVER THE WORLD. *Harrap.* 12s. 6d.

Extremely good reading from the pens of sixteen Press Correspondents in all parts of the world.

THE WORLD SINCE THE WAR. Stephen King-Hall *Nelson.* 2s. 6d.

"A guide to more detailed studies of the political, economic and social problems which have perplexed mankind since the outbreak of the Great War." Clear, succinct, and excellent value.

THE CITIZEN'S CHOICE. Ernest Barker. *Cambridge University Press.* 7s. 6d.

A collection of papers by a great scholar and thinker on "The Conflict of Ideologies," "The Breakdown of Democracy," "The Corporative State," etc.

ENGLAND THE ARBITER. Herbert W. Moxon *Hutchinson.* 10s 6d.

A plea that England should play her decisive part in saving civilisation and democracy.

KINGDOMS IN PARTNERSHIP. C. J. M. Alport. *Lovat Dickson.* 8s. 6d.

Describes the revolution which has taken place since 1919 in the relations between Great Britain and the Dominions.

TRIVIAL FOND RECORDS. Sir Laurence Guillemard *Methuen.* 10s. 6d

The entertaining anecdotal reminiscences of a popular Civil Servant.

PANICS AND HOPES

by "RAPIER"

LAST month I posed the question whether the slump on Wall Street indicated a repetition of the American landslide of 1929 with all its implications for the rest of the world. This month I might pose another rhetorical question and ask whether we are not back in the mentality of 1931 to 1933. Recent weeks have indeed shown a reversion to the anxiety complex of that period expressed in what is known in financial circles as a "search for liquidity." Frightened investors anxious to maintain their gains, or their inheritances, intact, have sought safety by selling their securities and placing the proceeds on deposit in banks, investing it in gilt-edged bonds, or buying gold The European *rentier* who had exported his capital to America in fear of a European war or further currency depreciation, was suddenly overcome with fears for the stability of the dollar and hastened to turn his dollars into sterling and the sterling into gold on the London bullion market. In the process of selling dollars the exchange rate for the dollar expressed in terms of sterling depreciated to over $5 to the £. Apart from the London bullion brokers' commission, the chief beneficiary from these transactions was the British Exchange Equalisation Fund which was enabled to sell at considerable profit gold bought much more cheaply during the dishoarding panic earlier this year This reversal of trend is a remarkable phenomenon when it is recalled that last Spring the hoarders were tumbling over each other to dispose of their gold holdings for fear that President Roosevelt was going to lower the price of gold in order to check an unhealthy boom in security and commodity markets. Now the fear is that Roosevelt may raise the price of gold by depreciating the dollar in order to prevent a slump. It should be added that such fears are held to be groundless both in London and New York and are only prevalent in Europe.

In the second week in November the intensity of this movement began to die down owing to indications from Washington that the President was adopting a more conciliatory and co-operative attitude towards Wall Street and Big Business. As I have often pointed out in these columns the American business man is a bitter opponent of the New Deal and maintains that the regimentation and suspicion with which he has been treated have sapped confidence and the development of enterprise. The business recovery which took place in the first three years of the New Deal are attributed to the devaluation of the dollar, coupled with the enormous scale of government expenditure upon relief. The consequent burden of debt which this procedure involved has necessitated a

(continued on p 78

heavily increased scale of taxation. Secretary Morgenthau of the United States Treasury is now trying to reduce expenditure and balance the budget This means that the Government is ceasing to "Prime the Pump" and leaving this task to industry But under a capitalist system the profit motive is the determining factor influencing the minds of *entrepreneurs* to undertake new business. Unless industrialists can see a clear period ahead without further increases of costs of production and disturbances to confidence they will not start new ventures and trade will fall away The immediate economic future both of America and of the world in general depends largely, therefore, upon a better feeling being established between President Roosevelt and the American business man.

One benefit that has accrued from the recent financial disturbances has been a further repatriation of capital to France. It now looks as if the price level in France is approaching an equilibrium with that of America and Britain and that there is therefore a prospect of attaining a greater stability between their respective currencies. Should America and Britain within the next few months conclude the hoped for trade treaty it should be possible to make a nearer approach to currency stabilisation than has proved practicable since the credit crash of 1931 which caused Britain to suspend the gold standard. This would be a great step forward, and if coupled with greater political stability and a revival of international trade should help the world to return to a more normal prosperity than that based upon feverish re-armament.

The City and Franco

A minor step towards normality is the appointment of official British agents in General Franco's territory. Opinion in the City may be said on the whole to favour Franco though this is modified by dislike of Italian intervention. However, now that Franco controls the largest and most valuable part of Spain including the iron and copper ore deposits, it is thought highly desirable that some official contact should be made with his agents to safeguard British interests. Despite the fact that the Spanish Government took possession of the gold reserves of the Bank of Spain amounting to some £50,000,000, Franco's currency commands a better rate in the foreign exchange market than the Valencia peseta. Franco pesetas are quoted at between 42/52 to the £ and Valencia pesetas at from 72/100 to the £. The higher value of the Franco pesetas is partly due to the larger export trade carried on from Franco's territory which enables him to get reserves of foreign currency, especially sterling, with which to make his purchases abroad, and partly to the better organisation of his finances, which may be due to German assistance. While British export trade to Spain has fallen off considerably since the outbreak of the civil war, the exports from Spain have been well maintained. The official clearing agreement between Spain and Britain has been in abeyance since last December but it is understood that there is a rough unofficial pooling of sterling resources received in payment by Spanish exporters which enables British imports to be paid for more easily. Some of the gold held by the Valencia Government is also understood to have been used by them to pay for their imports, but such transactions are difficult to trace as the whereabouts of the majority of this gold is kept secret.

THE shaving of the Bolsheviks is another step in the direction of capitalism.—*The Los Angeles Times.*

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

SPAIN

October 21. Franco's troops and Italians occupied Gijon, last Government stronghold in the north. Rebel army thus released for offensive on other fronts.

" 22 *et seq.* Deadlock again on the non-intervention committee, Italy insisting on unanimity, and Russia abstaining from a section of the plan for withdrawal of volunteers.

" 26. All members of committee, except Russia, announced agreement with British scheme for withdrawal of foreign troops

" 30 British steamer sunk by bombs from rebel plane.

ITALY

October 28 Anniversary of March on Rome in 1922. Mussolini in speech demanded a place in the African sun for Germany, and that Bolshevism should be driven from Europe

November 6. Italy joined the anti-Comintern pact with Germany and Japan Herr von Ribbentrop appointed ambassador-extraordinary for the purpose of signing on behalf of Germany.

" 8 Russia formally protested in Rome against Italy's adherence to the pact

GREAT BRITAIN

October 29 Officially announced that the Government is to broadcast news in foreign languages, to counter foreign anti-British propaganda

November 1. Mr Eden in a review of foreign affairs said that Britain would not be told what she should do regarding colonies by any country that had herself benefited in territory by the peace treaties and was herself not prepared to make any concessions

" 8 Government announced decision to appoint British agents in Franco Spain, without " recognising " the rebel government.

" 9 Mr Chamberlain, in Guildhall speech, again expressed wish for an understanding with Italy, and spoke hopefully of prospects for an Anglo-American trade agreement.

" 11. Agreement with Franco for an exchange of agents concluded.

" 16. Lord Halifax left for talks with Hitler.

FAR EAST

October 21. Japan received invitation to attend Brussels conference.

" 18. Germany and Russia invited to attend Brussels conference. Germany declined

November 3 Brussels conference opened, with speeches by Mr. Norman Davis of the U S.A and Mr. Wellington Koo of China. Chinese resistance reported crushed in Shansi province

" 7 Note sent from Brussels asking Japan whether she would be at least prepared to discuss the question with a smaller number of Powers

" 8 Japanese capture Taiyuan, capital of Shansi province

" 9 Unofficial reports from Tokyo state that Japan, while objecting to an official mediator, might agree to arbitration by a mutual friend, Germany being mentioned as a possible filler of the role

" 12 Japan refused to negotiate in co-operation with Conference

" 15 Sharp condemnation of Japan in Brussels declaration Italy voting against.

GERMANY

October 29 General von Epp, head of Colonial Office, repeated demand for colonies, and referred to impending action on part of Hitler—this reference censored in German reports

November 5 Agreement with Poland on treatment of minorities concluded.

BELGIUM

October 25 *et seq* M Van Zeeland, Premier, resigned with his Cabinet Unsuccessful attempts made to form new Government.

AUSTRALIA

October 24. The Lyons Ministry won a decisive victory in general election, with two seats lost to Labour.

BRAZIL

November 10. New Constitution on Fascist lines announced by President Vargas. Payment of interest on foreign loans suspended, and banks and insurance companies forbidden in cases where their shareholders are not Brazilian nationals.

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